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ART. X.—*Courtship in Ancient India.* By P. PETERSON, ESQ.,
M.A., D. Sc.

[Read, 29th July 1891.]

Among the 540 manuscripts collected by Horace Hayman Wilson in Benares and Calcutta, and now deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, there is one which contains the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana along with a commentary by one Bhaskara Nrisinha. The commentary was written in 1788 at the request of a Prince Vrajalal. It is described as being the work of a man who was not sufficiently acquainted either with the language or with the subject-matter of his author. The Kamasutra itself is a work which is destined, I believe, to throw a great deal of light on much that is still dark in the ancient history of this country. Aufrecht, who denounces the subject-matter of the book with all a scholar's asceticism, saw its importance, and gives up seven columns of his Catalogue to a long account of it. He notes that Vatsyayana refers to the following previous writers on the subject of love :—Auddalaki, Gonikaputra, Gonardiya, Ghotakamukha, Charayana, Dattaka, Babhravya and the Babhraviyas. Aufrecht also pointed out that Vatsyayana must be put before Subandhu, the author of the Vasavadatta. For both Mahesvara and Hemachandra tell us that Vatsyayana is another name for Mallanaga, whom Subandhu quotes.

The extracts given by Aufrecht attracted the attention of scholars, but the book itself has only been generally accessible very recently. The translation into English (1883) was printed and circulated privately only; and it was besides for scholars a very inadequate representation of the original. We owe it to Pandit Durga Prasad of Jeypore that we have at last an excellent edition of the book, accompanied by a better commentary than that which Aufrecht describes. This is the commentary a fragment of which I secured in 1883 for the Bombay Government collection, and which is referred to in my Second Report, p. 67. It is called the Jayamangala. The author gives his name as Yasodhara, but states that he wrote this "explanation of sutras which Vatsyayana collected, after he had retired from the world in grief at the loss of a beloved wife, and had, under the name of Indrapada, entered the ascetic life." It can be shown that the book, as we have it now, was known to Bhavabhuti, who flourished at the end of the seventh century, and that he makes

constant reference to it in his *Malatimadhava*. There is a statement to that effect at the beginning of the play itself, the point of which has been hitherto missed. I refer to the phrase “*auddhatyam âyojitakâmasûtram*,” which occurs in the enumeration by the actor of the qualities the audience may expect to find in the play about to be represented before them. Jagaddhara sees no reference to a book here, and Bhandarkar, differing from Jagaddhara, translates, “bold or adventurous deeds, intended to assist the progress of love (*lit.* in which is introduced the thread of love).” Bhavabhuti may mean this too. But his words are primarily a reference to this book, of which he makes great use. When Kamandaki slyly suggests, while professing to put aside, the tales of how Sakuntala and others followed the dictates of their own hearts in love, she is following Vatsyayana. When she tells Avalokita that the one auspicious omen of a happy marriage is that bride and bridegroom should love one another, and quotes the “old saying” that the happy husband is he who marries the girl who has bound to her his heart and his eye, she is following Vatsyayana. And so in many other parts of the play. One of the most conspicuous passages is in the seventh act, where Buddharakshita breaks through her Prakrit to quote the Sanskrit phrase, “*Kusumasadharmâno hi yoshitah sukumâropakramâh.*,” For women are like flowers, and should be approached gently.” Buddharakshita is quoting our book (p. 199), and the whole of the context refers to a matter which Vatsyayana treats of at great length, and which is interwoven with the plot of the *Malatimadhava*.

I will say only in passing that I hope on some future occasion to show that what is true of Bhavabhuti is true of his great predecessor Kalidasa.* If that is so, a vista of antiquity opens up for our book. For it is certain now that Kalidasa must be put earlier than has lately been very generally supposed. He stands near the beginning of our era, if indeed he does not overtop it, and date from the year one of Vikrama's era. It is enough, however, for my present purpose, if you will bear in mind that this *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana can be shown to have been known to Subandhu and Bhavabhuti. It contains much that is in conflict with the poet's dream of the “unchanging

* In a paper “On the duties of a Hindu wife” read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. 16th October 1891, I showed that Kalidasa quotes Vatsyayana verbally. Note added while printing.

East," the belief that India is a country in which all things have continued as they were from the beginning. But its evidence cannot, I believe, be overturned. It is with a full conviction of the authenticity and antiquity of the book that I proceed to lay before you a translation of that chapter in which Vatsyayana lays down the rules which, in his opinion, in all ordinary cases, should govern the relations of the sexes before marriage.

I.—“By a marriage, lawfully contracted, with a woman of his own caste, who is not another's betrothed, a man secures these six things—*increase of religious merit, increase of means, offspring, alliance, increase of the dignity of his House, and true love.*”

That the woman should be of the same caste is, of course, an universal rule. She must not be at the time the betrothed of another man. Mann declares that the man who gives his daughter to one man after having promised her to another is as guilty as if he had slain a thousand relations by false witness in court (IX. 71 and VIII. 98). By a marriage lawfully contracted is meant one contracted in one of the four ways approved of in the Shastras. The fruits of marriage explain themselves. Notice only that the third and sixth correspond to the first and second in the preamble to the marriage service of the Church of England. The other four correspond, more or less roughly, to the third there. The commentator explains that the increase of means refers, not only to the dowry the woman brings with her, but to her careful management of her husband's house, “*She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.*”

II.—“Therefore, let a man select a girl who is such an one as follows. She should be of good family. Her father and mother should both be alive. She should be younger, and younger by at least three years, than himself. She should be the daughter of a house that reverences the sacred ordinances, that is rich, the members of which are kindly disposed one to the other, and that is rich in adherents. Her connections both on the mother's and on the father's side should be influential. She should have beauty, virtue, and auspicious marks. Her teeth, nails, ears, hair, eyes, and breasts must be neither too large nor too small, and she must not have lost any of these parts. She must be of sound constitution. (*Mutatis mutandis*) the young man should be of the same kind; but, in addition, he must have completed the prescribed course of study.”

The choice is to come from the man. The considerations which are to guide his choice call only for occasional comment. He himself, it is stipulated, must have gone through the prescribed course of study, and should therefore be sixteen or eighteen years of age. The provision that his choice ought to fall upon a girl who is at least two years younger than himself does not seem to contemplate a much greater disparity. The belief in the significance of marks on the body and other such indications was universal in antiquity, and has not yet died out. Varahamihira (died 587 A. D.), who can be shown to have used our book, devotes a chapter of his *Brihat Samhita* to the subject in this connection, of which the last verse may be cited : —“ A female having the upper lip very high, and the hair coarse at the ends, is fond of quarrelling. Generally speaking, vices will be found with the ugly, whereas the virtues reside where beauty dwells.”

Vatsyayana now, according to a manner he much affects, qualifies what has been said by quoting the more liberal rule of an earlier writer.

III.—“ According to Ghotakamukha, a man should marry the woman whom he deems likely to make him happy, if he can do so without incurring the censure of his friends.”

The lad has made his choice, whether with due regard to all the considerations set out in the second rule, or in accordance with the more liberal rule of Ghotakamukha. How is his suit to be presented to the parents of the bride?

IV.—“ The proper persons to present the suit are the father and mother of the young man, and their connexions friends, too, on both sides, who are likely to be trusted.”

The commentator explains “ on both sides ” as meaning “ on the father’s and on the mother’s side.” The three rules immediately following, which are of an extremely entertaining character, refer to these friends, and suggest to me that what it really meant is friends intimate with both the families concerned. Kamandaki, in the *Malatimadhava*, is such a friend. The father and mother can only prefer the request : what the friends have to do is something quite different.

V.—“ Such friends should din into the ears of the girl’s mother and father the faults, observed, and by them foretold, of other suitors for her hand ; when they see an inclination to consent, they should cultivate that by dwelling on the good qualities, personal and hereditary, of their man. Let them dwell very specially on such of his advantages as are likely to commend themselves to the girl’s mother.”

VI.—“ One may get himself up as an astrologer, and give a glowing account of the wealth that, if there be any truth in birds, omens, the courses of the stars, and marks on the body, must one day come to their friend.”

VII.—Others in the same disguise may drive the mother of the girl wild by declaring that their friend stands a good chance of a much better alliance (with regard to which they are being consulted). ”

The last clause here is the addition of the commentator. It seems to express the meaning intended. It is remarkable that directions, which have the effect, if indeed that was not the intention, of throwing ridicule on the whole of this astrological flummery, are followed immediately by a solemn statement of its importance. The explanation is perhaps afforded by the rule which follows next, from which it would appear that Vatsyayana is citing, out of respect, Ghotakamukha here.

VIII.—“ For both he who sues for a maiden's hand and he who gives it should act in accordance with signs, omens, birds, and voices.”

IX.—“ Not by mere human choice : So says Ghotakamukha.”

The flight of a blue jay on the left is an omen of success ; the appearance of a cat an omen of failure. Kamandaki's left eye throbs as the action of the *Malatimadhava* begins, and she knows that that organ, which sees into the heart of things, bids her be of good hope. In the case of a man, the throbbing of the left eye would have been a bad omen. The “ voices ” are a little strange perhaps to us. In the dead of night an indication of how your undertaking is likely to prosper may be got from the words of belated wayfarers, passing under your windows ; or you may rise early in the morning, go to a neighbouring house, and learn from the first words you hear whether the fates are going to be kind or not. The wooer and the father must make a careful study of all these things before doing anything rash : and as we have seen, the former at least would do well to see to it that human contrivings are not palmed off upon him.

X.—“ Let him give up a girl who, when the wooers come to woo, is found asleep, in tears, or out. Let him shun also these sixteen—1, a girl with an unlucky name ; 2, one who has been kept in concealment ; 3, one who is betrothed to another man ; 4, one with red hair ; 5, one with spots ; 6, a masculine woman ; 7, one with a big head ; 8, a bandy-legged woman ; 9, one with a broad forehead ; 10, one ceremonially

impure; 11, the fruit of an improper marriage; 12, one who has menstruated; 13, one who is or has been pregnant; 14, an old friend; 15, one who has a younger sister much handsomer than herself; and 16, one 'that hath a moist hand.'

"Let him not woo a girl, who is called after a constellation, or a river, or a tree, or one who is despised, or one who bears a name ending in l or r."

It ought to be said that the text here is a little uncertain, and that the meaning of some of the terms used is obscure. For 13, I have departed from the commentator, who takes *phalinī* to mean "dumb." For 16, as you will have noticed, I have been able to use a phrase which occurs, in a similar connection, in *Othello*.

XI.—"He will be a happy husband who marries the woman on whom his heart and his eye are set. Let a man not think of any other: So some say."

Vatsyayana is quoting Apastamba, and we are to understand that this rule, for those who accept it, is to brush away a good deal of what has gone before. The commentator, after the manner of his kind, makes a desperate effort to establish a harmony between such conflicting rules, and would have us believe that all that Vatsyayana means is, that this rule is to come in only when more maidens than one are eligible under the previous rules, when there is an embarrassment of choice. But the "So some say" of the original is a clear indication of a rule that is conflicting with, not supplementary of, the preceding matter. The doctrine of the present rule is developed and illustrated in the next, in which Vatsyayana speaks of the art which should be used to induce the young man to fall into that condition which according to this text of the venerable Apastamba is the only legitimate precedent of a happy marriage. Apastamba deserves a place in our esteem with the "dead shepherd" whom Shakespeare praised—

Now I find thy saw of might

Who ever loved that loved not at first sight?

XII.—"Accordingly, when a girl is of an age to be given in marriage, her parents should dress her well. Every afternoon she should play with the girls of her acquaintance, always faultlessly got up. At a sacrifice, or a marriage, or wherever people come together, care should be taken to show her off. So also at festivals. For she is of the nature of merchandise."

This is not a rule which calls for much comment. Doubtless, the last remark is not to be stretched unduly, beyond the context. But there are many references in the law books to the practice of the actual sale of daughters. Manu, III. 51, declares that no father who knows the law should take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter, for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity is a seller of his offspring. But in another place he has a rule regarding the practice, which is evidence that it must at one time have been to some extent prevalent. His rule will recall to those who know it the story of Jacob and Laban. Jacob served Laban seven years for his daughter Rachel, and when the time came was put off with her elder sister Leah. When he complained of this treatment, Laban gave him Rachel too, but made it a condition that he should serve over seven years for her. Now Manu, (VIII. 204) in a context where he is dealing with the law between buyer and seller, declares that "one commodity mixed with another must not be sold as pure, nor a bad one as good, nor less than the proper quantity of weight, nor anything that is not at hand or that is concealed." And he goes on to provide *enter alia* that "if, after one damsel has been shown, another be given to the bridegroom, he may marry them both for the same price."

XIII.—"When men fair to look on, courteous in speech, and accompanied by their connexions, come to propose marriage, the parent of the girl should receive them hospitably, and on some pretext or another show them the girl in all her ornaments. They should come to no decision as to giving the girl before they have consulted the oracles.

This consultation of the oracles (*daivaparikshana*) was, of course, done on both sides. The parents of the girl were bound in her interest to enquire of astrologers and the like as to whether the proposed marriage was likely or not to be to her advantage. So, too, the parents of the youth. But, in addition, as the Grihya Sutras show, the parents of the man were entitled to require the girl to submit herself, to a test of an extremely curious and unscientific character. I translate the passage in Asvalayana's manual of domestic religion. The person addressed in the following rules is the Hindoo who wishes to observe the whole law :—I.—"Let him first make an enquiry into the family (*i.e.*, of the bride or bridegroom as the case may be) according to the text 'Both on the mother's side, and on that of the father.'" A reference to the text cited shows that it was required that, on the

mother's and on the father's side, the family should for ten generations back have been conspicuous for knowledge of the Scriptures, penance, and good work. II.—“Let him give his daughter to a man of understanding.” It is very noteworthy, and should be remembered to his credit, that intelligence is the only personal qualification on which Asvalayana insists as indispensable in a son-in-law. III.—“Let him marry a woman who has intelligence, beauty, virtue, and lucky marks upon her body; who is, moreover, of sound health.” In addition to sound health, which is put separately, as if to mark its special importance, four things are required, of which three are perfectly intelligible to us—intelligence, beauty, and virtue—in that order be it noted. The fourth wears such an unfamiliar character to us, in the Europe of to-day, that it has misled the learned translator of the Grihya Sutras, who takes *buddhirūpasīlulakṣhaṇa* to mean, not “intelligence, beauty, virtue, and lucky marks on her body,” but “the characteristics of intelligence, beauty, and moral conduct.” The translation is not very intelligible, and it obscures the sense of what follows. For Asvalayana goes on IV.—“The lucky marks are hard to read.” Dr. Oldenberg prefers the reading, “Since the lucky marks are hard to read,” connecting this rule with the one which follows. This is the interpretation of the Hindoo commentator. I follow Stenzler in rejecting the “since.” The quaint procedure which follows is not to take the place of an enquiry into the “intelligence, beauty, virtue and lucky marks of the girl,” but to be superadded. In the present rule Asvalayana is only giving a caution, which is echoed by Vatsyayana, against attaching too much importance to marks that may deceive. V.—“Let him take eight clods of earth, and reciting over them the verse ‘*ṛitam agre*,’ &c., say to the girl, ‘Take one of these.’” VI.—“If she choose the piece that has been taken from a field that bears a double crop, let him know that her children will be rich in grain; if a piece from the byre, rich in cattle; if from the *dēbris* on the altar, rich in piety; if from a lake that never dries up, rich in all things; if from the gaming-ground, addicted to gambling; if from a place where four roads meet, addicted to wandering; if from barren land, barren: if from the burning ground, a death to their husbands.”

The commentator, Gargya, says that the three last adjectives refer to the woman herself, but there is nothing in the text to justify this. Oldenberg's construction, according to which the last adjective only refers to the woman, is not supported by anything either in the text

or the commentary. It seems to me that the ordeal has reference only to the kind of children the woman is likely to bring forth—her own horoscope has been already read—and that the three last adjectives mean that she will bring forth wanton, barren, or murderous daughters.

XIV.—“The wooer’s party will be asked to bathe, and so forth. They should say ‘All that will come later.’ They should not that day accept such attentions.”

XV.—“Or let him woo according to the custom of the country, and then marry in one of the ways approved of in the Scriptures. Here ends the chapter on wooing.”

At the end of his chapter on wooing Vatsyayana quotes some old verses—

“Social games, such as, for example, filling up ‘*bouts rimes*,’ marriages, and intercourse generally, should be with a man’s equals, not with those either above him or below him.

“A man marries above him when he marries a girl only to be treated by her and her friends as a servant ever afterwards; no man of spirit will do that.”

“He marries below him when he and his people lord it over the girl, that is a bad marriage, it too is censured by the good.”

“Where the love between husband and wife adds lustre to both, and is a source of joy to both families, that is the only marriage which is approved.”

“Let a man if he will marry above him, and walk humbly among his wife’s relations ever afterwards; but on no account let him do, what all good men disapprove of, marry beneath him.”

This chapter, which I have given in full, treats of the usual preliminaries to marriage in the ordinary case, where the man selects the girl of his choice, but leaves it to go-betweens to arrange the match. Vatsyayana proceeds to speak of cases where, for one reason or another, this is not found practicable. A poor man, however excellent, a man who has all other virtues, but is of mean birth, a rich man, if he be a neighbour (this is noteworthy: the commentary refers it to the quarrels that are certain to come if the families to be connected by marriage live near each other!), a man who is not his own master, and one or two others, need not hope for a favourable answer to any deputation they may send. They are accordingly enjoined to woo the girls for themselves. They get minute directions how to do this,

and are in the end warned that, however great their success may be, they must not expect their lady to confess her love. "For all the world knows that a girl, however much she may be in love, will not herself make any overtures to the man." Accordingly he must be quick to read the signs by which she will betray her passion. I must pass these over. There is much of the "touch of nature" in them. It ought, for example, to interest the sufferer of the present day to know that Vatsyayana held that the girl might be taken to be yielding if it was found that she could not look her lover in the face, and was put out when he looked at her, if she liked to be in his company, and made his friends her friends, if she gave him the flower from her hair, and made a point of wearing the flowers he sent her.

The state of society described in the Kamasutra is, as was to be expected, reflected in the literature. I propose to close this paper with an illustration of this. It is taken from Dandin's "*Dasakumara-charita*," a work written, so far as I can judge, in the ninth or tenth century. It would take me too far to show in detail how closely Dandin, in the extracts I am about to make, follows the Kamasutra. I will ask you to believe that the references are frequent and obvious. To give one example only, Vatsyayana lays it down that a good wife will waste nothing, use even the chaff of rice as polishing stuff. You will see how this comes out in the tale of how Saktikumara chose a wife. In the story Mitragupta, one of the ten princes who give the book its name, has fallen into the hands of a goblin, who puts four questions to him, and assures him that if he does not answer them, he will be eaten. One of the questions is, "What is the most pleasing and at the same time the most profitable possession of a 'householder'?" Mitragupta answers, "A good wife," and in support of his answer he tells the story of Gomini:—

"In the country of the Dravidās there is a town called Kanchi. A young merchant, by name Saktikumara, lived there, who was worth many crores. He, being eighteen years of age, fell a thinking. 'The man who has no wife, and the man who has a wife that does not suit him, are neither of them happy. How am I to find a good wife?' It seemed to him that if he took a wife on the report of others it must be a mere chance whether he made a happy marriage or not. Accordingly he disguised himself as an astrologer, and wandered from town to town with a small parcel of rice tied up in the end of his garment. All the people who had girls to marry brought them to

him, believing that he, as an astrologer, could read their fortunes from their appearance and the marks on their bodies. Whenever he saw a girl of his own caste, with the proper features and marks, he would say to her 'My good girl, could you make me a dinner out of this handful of rice?' From house to house he was laughed away with scorn. In the course of his wanderings he came to a town on the bank of the Kaveri river, in the country of the Sibis. There he saw a girl, with hardly any ornaments on, who was shown to him by her foster-mother. She had lost with her father and mother all her fortune, and her house was poverty-stricken. But his eye clave to her. And he said to himself (I spare the Society and myself the inventory of female charms which follows, noting only that it is closely modelled on our book) 'A form like this cannot give the lie to her disposition. And my heart cleaves to this girl. Still I must put her to the test before I marry her. For he who acts without reflection, has many occasions to be sorry afterwards.' Accordingly, with a kindly smile, he said to her: 'My good girl, do you think you could make me a dinner, with all the usual accompaniments, out of this handful of rice?' She made a sign to the old nurse, who took the rice out of his hand, washed his feet, and made him sit down on a terrace that had been well washed and rubbed with cow-dung. While the nurse was doing this the girl dried the rice for a little in the sun, turning the heap over every now and then. When it was sufficiently dry, she beat it gently with a hollow rod so as to separate the grain from the husk. Then she said to the nurse, 'Mother, take these husks to the goldsmiths, who use them for bur-nishing their ornaments, and with the cowries you get for them bring some pieces of wood. See that they are hard, and neither too moist nor too dry at the heart. Buy also an earthen cooking pot so big, and two drinking vessels.' When she had arranged for this she put the rice into a mortar of kskhubha wood, which was neither too deep nor too shallow, and which bulged out in the middle. With a long heavy pestle of khadira wood, bound at the head with iron, and sloping a little inwardly at the middle, she pounded the rice, gracefully exercising her arm with the up and down stroke, and every now and then with the fingers of her other hand sifting the rice. Next she winnowed the rice of all impurities, washed it more than once in water, and, after due worship paid to the hearth, [she threw a little rice in the fire] she put the rice into five times its own quantity of boiling water. When the rice

softened, and leapt in the pot, the moment it was past the condition of buds on a tree, she lessened the fire, and putting a cover on the pot, tilted it over, and drew off the water. Then she stirred the rice for a little, and when the whole of it was equally well cooked, she took the pot off the fire, and set it down face downwards. The wood was still sound at the core : she poured water on it, and extinguishing the fire, made charcoal. This she sent to the dealers in that article, bidding the nurse bring, with the cowries got for it, vegetables, ghce, curds, oil, an amala berry and a tamarind, as much as she could get. With these she made two or three relishes. The rice water had all this time been standing in a new jug, round which earth kept moist had been heaped. She gently fanned it with a palm leaf. She put salt in, and perfumed it by exposing it to the smoke of burning charcoal. Next she polished the amala berry and flavoured it with a lotus. And now she bade him, by the mouth of her nurse, bathe. She herself bathed and made herself clean, and was ready to hand him the oil and amala berry in due order. After his bath he mounted a bench on the clean dry terrace, and fell to wiping the drinking vessels, which, with a little water in them, she had placed before him on a pale green leaf from the plantain tree in the court of her house, which she had been careful to cut so as to leave the joint and a quarter of the leaf on the tree. She gave him first the drink she had prepared. He drank and forgot his weariness : his heart rejoiced and the water moistened every limb. Then she gave him two spoonfuls of the rice water, a little butter, dall, and one of her relishes. The rest of the rice she made him eat with the curds, cardamoms, green stuff, and cool and fragrant buttermilk and rice water. He was satisfied, and there was food over. He called for water. She poured into a platter for him water from a new jar fragrant with aloe, the patāla and the lotus flowers. He put his mouth to the platter; the pattering drops cold as snow made his eyes redden and his eyelids curve, the sound of the falling stream gladdened his ears, his cheeks roughened as the pile on them rose to the pleasure of the cold touch, his nostrils opened wide to take in the rush of perfume, his tongue revelled in the sweetness of the draught : he drunk the clear bright water till he was full up to the throat. He shook his head for her to stop, when from another vessel she gave him water to rinse his mouth. The nurse took away the remains of the dinner, and he, spreading his garments on the clean floor, lay down for a little. He was satisfied, and

married her according to law. Some time afterwards, showing in that little regard for her, he took a dancing girl into his harem. She waited on her as a friend. Her husband she served continuously as her god. She fully discharged all her household duties. By an ocean of courtesy she attached her husband's kinsfolk to her. Enslaved by her merits Saktikumara put her in charge of all his house, and made her lord of his life and body. In her he found the three things men desire—religion, wealth, and pleasure. Said I not well that a good wife is her husband's choicest treasure ?”

ART. XI.—*Carlyle's hitherto unpublished Lectures on the periods of European Culture, as preserved in the Anstey MS., in the possession of the Society. Part. I.* By R. P. KARKARIA, ESQ.

[Read, 31st August 1891.]

When our Honorary Secretary, whose brief tenure of office has already been signalised by the re-discovery, as I may term it, of our valuable Dante MS., by the tracing and settling of the history of our Assyrian Relics and Inscriptions, whose decipherment promises to throw some new light on ancient Assyrian history, and the order that has been slowly evolved out of the chaotic mass of geological specimens in our Museum, requested me to write a paper on another precious literary MS. in our possession, I hesitated a good deal before I consented. For what, I thought, has an Asiatic Society to do with Carlyle and the periods of European Culture? But I was encouraged by the fact that only last year our Asiatic Society had shown its readiness to listen to a valuable paper by Mr. Macdonell on Dante, a subject equally, if not further removed from the aims of an Oriental Society. Nay, to judge from the unusually large attendance of members on that occasion, it seemed that the Society liked such papers better than other purely Oriental ones. Therefore I hoped that the indulgence which was granted to Dante might be extended to Carlyle, especially as the words, spoken by him more than half a century ago, are here given out to the world almost for the first time since they were uttered. Nor are some parts of his lectures so very removed from our legitimate province. What he says about Belief and Unbelief, for example, at great length and from different points of view, is applicable to the East as well as to the West. Again his sympathetic manner of looking at old and worn-out creeds like those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and his vindication of the sincerity of these peoples from the charges of quackery and falsehood, should be very instructive to those who treat the ancient though by no means worn-out creeds of India and the East.

The immediate occasion of Carlyle mounting the platform and giving lectures to a 'dandiacal' audience, against whom he had inveighed

in *Sartor*, was his straitened pecuniary circumstances. His object was, as he himself says in these lectures of Shakespeare, 'to gather a little money, for he was very necessitous.' Thus it was his poverty consented not his will. Though by the year 1838 he had done some of his best work, written *Sartor*, which is now the most widely read of his works (Dr. Smiles, *Memoir of Murray*, Vol. II., p. 325), and just finished his grand epic of the French Revolution, besides having written some of his best shorter essays, Carlyle had not yet emerged into fame. The vast public which later on learnt to admire his writings, in spite of their superficial uncouthness and repulsiveness, had not yet arisen. He had yet to educate and almost to create the public taste to appreciate his works. His books therefore could either find no publisher at all, or, if published, bring him no profit whatever. He was, as a consequence, in constant dread of misery and ruin. But amidst this gloom of darkness there was one ray of hope. A prophet has proverbially no honour in his own country. But beyond the Atlantic, in the new home which his countrymen had found for their shattered liberties, they showed greater discernment. Carlyle was honoured there as a rising great teacher. The Americans could appreciate the philosophy of Herr Teufelsdröckh, and, what was of more vital importance, could pay in hard dollars for it, much earlier than the British Philistine. Moreover, he had kind friends there especially, the Emersons, who would willingly do everything for him. So Carlyle almost resolved to have nothing more to do with the Old England that had treated him so harshly, and to start for New and kinder England,—'to buy a rifle and spade, and withdraw to the Transatlantic Wilderness, far from human beggaries and basenesses,' as he himself put it vigorously. (Reminiscences ed. Froude, Vol. II., p. 180.) Thus his country was about to lose him just at the time when he had reached the maturity of his powers. Some keen-sighted friends, who knew what a loss and a shame it would be to let such a man go, resolved to keep him back still. It was known that he was going to America in response to an invitation to lecture there. So these friends, chief among whom was Harriet Martineau and the Wilsons, prevailed upon him to remain and lecture at home.

Carlyle had a great horror of mounting the platform, and hated this kind of work. "The excitement of lecturing," says Mr. Froude, whose *Life* of his great master, is worthy to rank by the side of Boswell and

Lockhart, Carlyle's own *Sterling* and Sir George Trevelyan's *Macanlay* as one of the very best biographies in any literature, "so elevating and agreeable to most men, seemed to depress, and irritate him." (*Life in Lonn*, Vol. I., p. 138.) An observer, Sir George Pollock, who had just then been called to the bar, writes of 'Carlyle in the agony of lecturing with firmset mouth, painful eyes, and his hands convulsively grasped, suffering as one might fancy an Indian would at the stake!' (Personal Reminiscences, Vol. I., 177.) Carlyle himself writes to Emerson: "I shall be in the agonies of lecturing! Ah me! Often when I think of the matter how my one sole wish is to be left to hold my tongue, and by what bayonets of Necessity clapt to my back, I am driven to that lecture-room, and in what mood, and ordered to speak or die, I feel as if my only utterance should be a flood of tears and blubbering! But that, clearly will not do. Then, again, I think it is perhaps better so; who knows?" (Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson. ed. Prof. Norton, Vol. I., p. 156.) It was better so, and he was persuaded in the end, 'Detestable mixture of prophecy and play actorism, as I sorrowfully defined it,' he grumbles; 'nothing could well be hatefuller to me; but I was obliged. And she, oh she was my angel, and unwearied helper and comforter in all that; how we drove together, we poor two, to our place of execution; she with a little drop of brandy to give me as the very last; and shone round me like a bright aureola, when all else was black and chaos!' (Reminiscences ed. Froude, Vol. II., p. 187.) Miss Martineau got together about 200 friends who consented to listen to him discoursing on German literature, his favourite subject. This was the first course of lectures, and it proved a success, though Henry Taylor, who was present at the first lecture, had augured otherwise. Writing to Miss Fenwick on May 6, 1837, he says: 'He was nervous in the extreme insomuch that he told me nothing but the determination not to be beaten could have brought him through the first lecture. Nervous difficulties take much of course from the effect, which they might otherwise have; but I doubt whether under any circumstances, he would have much charm for a fashionable London auditory. He wants all the arts and dexterities which might propitiate them. But though I fear he has no chance of much success, I think his *naiveté* and the occasional outbreaks of his genius and spirit will save him from being considered as a signal failure. His nervousness makes me dreadfully nervous in listening to him, so that I find the greatest relief when he is done.'

(Correspondence of Henry Taylor ed. Dr. Dowden, p. 81.) Carlyle did not write out his lectures, but insisted on *speaking* to his audience. As it does not appear that this course was reported in full, it seems to be now lost.

Encouraged by this success, his friends got up a second course. It was to be on the periods of European Culture. The lectures were to be twelve in number, the subscription for each ticket being two guineas. They were delivered in 17, Edward Street, Portman Square, during the months of April, May and June, 1838. The first lecture was given on Monday, April 30, and the rest on the succeeding Mondays and Fridays of each week. The portrait which Caroline Fox has drawn two years later of Carlyle as he appeared while lecturing is graphic and may be given here: "Carlyle soon appeared and looked as if he felt a well-dressed London audience scarcely the arena for him to figure in as popular lecturer. He is a tall, robust-looking man; rugged simplicity and indomitable strength are in his face, and such a glow of genius in it—not always smouldering there, but flashing from his beautiful grey eyes, from the remoteness of their deep setting under that massive brow. His manner is very quiet, but he speaks like one tremendously convinced of what he utters, and who had much—very much—in him that was quite unutterable, quite unfit to be uttered to the uninitiated ear; and when the Englishman's sense of beauty or truth exhibited itself in vociferous cheers, he would impatiently, almost contemptuously, wave his hand, as if that were not the sort of homage which Truth demanded. He began in a rather low nervous voice with a broad Scotch accent, but it soon grew firm and shrank not abashed from its great task." (Journals and Letters, Vol. I., p. 152.) Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, too, was favourably impressed. 'The most notable things in your way,' wrote he to Aubrey de Vere in 1838, 'have been Carlyle's Lectures; they have been perhaps more interesting than anything else, as all picturesque history must be, and he talks as graphically as his "French Revolution." His personality is most attractive. There he stands, simple as a child, and his happy thought dances on his lips and in his eyes, and takes word and goes away, and he bids it God-speed, whatever it be.' (*Life of Lord Houghton* by Mr. Wemyss Reid, Vol. I., p. 220.) But Carlyle struck another observer quite differently. George Ticknor, the American historian of Spanish literature, was in London while Carlyle was

delivering his second course of lectures, and he thus writes of him in his journal: "He is a rather small, spare, ugly Scotchman, with a strong accent, which I should think he takes no pains to mitigate. His manners are plain and simple, but not polished, and his conversation much of the severe sort. To-day he spoke, as I think he commonly does, without notes, and therefore as nearly extempore as a man can who prepares himself carefully, as it was plain he had done. He was impressive, I think, though such lecturing could not well be very popular, and in some parts, if not poetical, he was picturesque. He was nowhere obscure, nor were his sentences artificially constructed, though some of them no doubt savoured of his peculiar manner." (*Life of Ticknor*, Vol. II., p. 180.) "This time," says Mr. Froude, "he succeeded brilliantly, far better than on his first experiment." The money result was nearly £300 after all expenses had been paid,—a great blessing, as Carlyle said, to a man that had been haunted by the squalid spectre of beggary. . But a greater blessing was that it had a great influence on many men who have since become famous. Frederic Denison Maurice, another great 'guide of English thought in matters of faith' in this century, said that 'he had been more edified by Carlyle's Lectures of 1838 than by anything he had heard for a long while, and that he had then the greatest reverence for Carlyle. (*Life of Maurice* by his Son, Vol. I., p. 251.)

As to his method of lecturing it appears that Carlyle usually brought some notes with him to the lecture-room, but never used them. Miss Kate Perry, writing to Sir Henry Taylor in 1882 about her reminiscences of Carlyle's Lectures of 1840, says: "I remember Jenny imitating him very funnily when looking at his notes. After his hour was over, he said: 'I find I have been talking to you all for one hour and twenty minutes, and not said *one word* of what is down on this sheet of paper, the subject-matter of our lecture to-day. I ask your indulgence, though you have good right not to give it to me, so good morning.' I dare say you were also present at that lecture, and remember the amusement it caused." (Correspondence of Sir H. Taylor ed. Dowden, p. 400.) The present course, too, was not written out, but strictly spoken though he had prepared himself carefully for it, especially the Greek and Roman parts. "Classics," as Mr. Froude says, "are not the strong point of an Edinburgh education, and the little he had learnt there was rusty." So he had to

read up his classics for the first three lectures. The lectures were briefly reported in the *Examiner* by Leigh Hunt, who, as Dr. Granett truly says, is always forgetting the reporter in the critic. Thus with the exception of this short notice of Hunt, the course was supposed to have been lost. "It must ever be a source of regret," says Mr. Wylie, in his 'Life of Carlyle,' "to the students of Carlyle's writings that, while the reporters of the London Press were, in that summer of 1838, busy preserving every word of the orations of men who are already forgotten, this poor fragment is all that has come down to us of a series of lectures which would have thrown so much light on the story of Carlyle's spiritual life" (p. 169).

But since this was written Dr. Dowden has published in the *Nineteenth Century* (May 1881) some extracts from a note-book containing a report of the lectures. Dr. Dowden's report, however, to judge from the extracts he has given, is, as Dr. Garnett says, a blundering one, and he has omitted many characteristic passages. Our MS., though like Dr. Dowden's, it wants one lecture, *viz.*, the ninth, is very accurate and has no other omissions like those in the latter. This omission of the ninth Lecture, which was on French Scepticism, is not, I think, a serious one. For Carlyle himself notes in his Journal: 'On Voltaire and French Scepticism is the worst, as I compute, of all. On the day I was stupid and sick beyond expression; also I did not *like* the man, a fatal circumstance of itself, I had to hover vague on the surface. The people seemed content enough. I myself felt sincerely disgusted. That is the word.' (Froude, I., 137.) Moreover, there is an excellent summary of this lecture at the beginning of the tenth. On collating all the extracts given by Dr. Dowden with the corresponding passages in our MS., I have found that the reading of the latter is in every case superior, and is free from the blunders of the former. In a passage in the first lecture the Dowden MS. has this sentence: "Their first feature was what we may call the central feature of all others *existing vehemence*." *Existing* clearly gives no sense, and Dr. Dowden, suspecting this, has conjectured *exhausting*. But our MS. has *exciting vehemence*, which is the apposite epithet. A little further there is this: "The sun of Poetry stared upon him." We have *shone* instead of *stared*, which is much better. In the sixth lecture, speaking of the great favour which Calderon has with the Germans, he says: "But I suspect that there is very much of *forced*

taste in this." Both MSS. give "forced taste," but in our MS. there is a marginal note which says that this was not the expression used, "but I suppose it was the meaning of a technical word, which I did not catch." In the tenth lecture there is a ludicrous mistake in the Dowden MS. "In spite of early training I never do see sorites of logic hanging together, put in regular order, but I conclude that it is going to end in some *niaiserie*, in some miserable delusion." This is our reading. But the Dowden MS. has *measure*, the reading evidently of an ignorant transcriber, instead of the French word *niaiserie*, which is, of course, the only appropriate one in the place. In the eleventh lecture there is this sentence in the Dowden MS.: "It was the primeval feeling of nature they came to crush but * * rallied." Dr. Dowden says that there is a word omitted in his MS., and he conjectures "the spirit of France rallied." But our MS. has the full sentence, "It was the primeval feeling of nature they came to crush, and round it the old spirit of fanaticism had rallied." Towards the close of the third lecture, the Dowden MS. omits a 'no' in a sentence and thus makes it illogical. 'It was given to Tacitus to see *no* deeper into the matter than appears from the above account of it.' The *no* is in our MS. In the first lecture, instead of 'faculty' which is in our MS. and is the proper word, the other has 'facility.' These are only the more prominent discrepancies. I have noted many more of a less serious nature. They all prove our MS. to be superior and more accurate; and, as far as can be judged, a correct and full report of Carlyle's famous lectures.

A few words now about the writer of the MS., who has preserved these lectures for the world. The audience which attended his lectures is thus described by Jane Welsh Carlyle. 'In quality the audience is unsurpassable; there are women so beautiful and intelligent that they look like emancipations from the moon; and men whose faces are histories in which one may read with ever new interest.' (Letters and Memorials ed. Froude, Vol. I., p. 93.) Carlyle himself in one of his letters to his mother, writes: "My audience was supposed to be the best, for rank, beauty, and intelligence, ever collected in London. I had bonnie braw dames, Ladies this, Ladies that, though I dared not look at them for fear they should put me out. I had old men of fourscore; men middle-aged, with fine steel-grey beards; young men of the Universities, of the law profession, all sitting quite mum there, and the Annandale voice golly-

ing at them." (Froude, *Life in London*, Vol. I., p. 140.) Among these last, mentioned by Carlyle, was a young man who afterwards lived to achieve a great success in his profession, as well as some in politics, in two continents. Mr. Thomas Anstey was studying law at about this time in London and was this year called to the bar. It speaks much about his critical discrimination and foresight that he should have been at so much pains to have a full report of these lectures for his private use, at a time when Carlyle was not much known beyond the little circle of his personal friends. Later on, taking notes of Carlyle's lectures became it seems fashionable, among ladies especially, as Caroline Fox records in her Journal, April 19, 1841, that 'Sterling spoke of ladies taking notes at Carlyle's lectures of dates, not thoughts, and these all wrong.' (*op. cit.* Vol. I., p. 230.) Mr. Anstey has preserved also his ticket of admission to the course, which is signed by Carlyle himself, and is numbered 64. It is pasted on the inside of the cover of the MS. When Anstey's vast library was dispersed at his death in 1873, our Society bought this MS. among other valuable books. And we owe it to the excellent judgment of our then Honorary Secretary, the late Mr. James Taylor, that we possess this precious MS. of lectures, whose supposed loss has been lamented by students of Carlyle.

The method which has been followed in the treatment of the MS. is something like that which Carlyle has himself graphically described in one of his Essays. "You go through his writings and all other writings, where he or his pursuits are treated of, and wherever you find a passage with his name in it, you cut it out, and carry it away. In this manner a mass of materials is collected, and the building now proceeds apace. Stone is laid on the top of stone, a trowel or two of biographic mortar, if perfectly convenient, being spread in here and there, by way of cement; and so the strange pile suddenly arises; amorphous, pointing every way but to the zenith, here a block of granite, there a mass of pipeclay; till the whole finishes, when the materials are finished!" (*Miscellanies*, Vol. I., p. 3.) Such a thing therefore will be the following paper. The sole object is to give some idea of the wealth of matter and manner contained in these lectures. Typical passages will therefore be quoted in full. As Dr. Garnett says, these Lectures contain 'Carlyle's opinions on a number of topics not elsewhere treated by him,' care will be taken to present such. On the whole, there will be little of my own, and I shall achieve my object if I earn Charles II.'s famous

compliment to Godolphin of being never in the way and never out of it.

Carlyle commences his course with a few introductory words on the greatness and dignity of Literature and on the importance of treating literary history, that is, the record of what men have thought, before political history, the narration of what they have done. "It must surely be an interesting occupation to follow the stream of mind from the period at which the first great spirits of our Western World wrote and flourished, down to these times. He who would pursue the investigation, however, must commence by inquiring what it was these men *thought*, before he enquires what they *did*, for after all they were solely remarkable for Mind, Thought, Opinion,—opinion which clothed itself in Action. And their opinions have survived in their books. A Book affords matter for deep meditation. Upon the shelves books seem queer, insignificant things—but in reality there is nothing so important as a book is. It stirs up the minds of men long after the author has sunk into the grave and continues to exert its corresponding influence for ages. Authors, unlike heroes, therefore, do not need to be illuminated by others, they are themselves luminous. This thought that was produced to-day,—the pamphlet that was published to-day, are only as it were reprints of thoughts that have circulated ever since the world began. And we are interested in its history for the thought is alive with us, and it lives when we are dead." It may be noted that later on, at the close of the fourth lecture, Carlyle, in a passage seemingly—but seemingly only—contradictory to this, places noble action above even noble utterance through books. Speaking of the contempt with which the mediæval warriors looked upon the art of writing, he says: "Though writing is one of the noblest utterances, for speech is so,—there are other ways besides that of expressing one's self; and to lead a Heroic life is, perhaps, on the whole, a greater thing to do than to write a Heroic Poem . . . Actions only will be found to have been preserved when writers are forgotten. Homer will one day be swallowed up in Time, and so will all the greatest writers that have ever lived; and comparatively this is very little matter. But actions will not be destroyed; their influence must live: good or bad, they will live through Eternity, for the weal or woe of the doer! In particular the good actions will flow on in the course of time, unseen perhaps, but just as a vein of water flowing underground, hidden in general,

but at intervals breaking out to the surface in many a well for the refreshment of men!" No one need blame Carlyle for thus dissenting from the famous view of Aristotle, in order to agree with Bacon in preferring an active to a contemplative life.

Carlyle has no sympathy with those who would frame a theory for explaining every fact in the political, social, as well as literary world. Though he later on adopted what Mr. Herbert Spencer sarcastically calls the "great man theory," though he is capable of saying the "history of the world is but the Biographies of great men" (*Heroes*, p. 1), and though he may be said to have written his greatest and most laborious works to illustrate this cardinal theory which runs like a fine thread through all his teaching, yet at the outset of these lectures, he refuses to frame any theory about the history of European culture. Indeed, somewhat strangely, he says, that such theories are almost impossible, not only in the present subject but almost everywhere else in human things. "There is very great difficulty in reducing this generation of thought to a perfect theory, as indeed there is with everything else, except perhaps the stars only, and even they are not reduced to theory,—not perfectly at least,—for although the solar system is quite established as such, it seems doubtful whether it does not in its turn revolve round other solar systems; and so any theory is in fact only imperfect. This phenomenon therefore is not to be theorised on." It is to be wished that these wise words had been borne in mind by another historian of the same subject as this of Carlyle, Dr. Draper, whose "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe" is thoroughly vitiated by his absurd "physiological theory" that the progress of society resembles that of a human being from childhood to old age. Emerson, whose lectures on Human culture were delivered in Boston at about the same time as his friend Carlyle's, and were, as Carlyle himself noted, 'on the very subject I am to discourse upon here in May coming,' treated the subject in the light of a curious theory of his own. Culture, according to him, is the unfolding of a man's potentialities, and is a discipline so universal as to demonstrate that no part of a man is made in vain. And he demonstrated this in successive lectures on the hands, the head, the eye and ear, the heart, etc. (cf. *Memoir of Emerson*, by J. E. Cabot, Vol. I., p. 322, Vol. II., 351). In spite however of his disclaimer, Carlyle too has a theory in these lectures or rather a central idea, which runs through them all and connects the whole. With him belief and

faith is the one thing needful in human affairs, and disbelief and doubt the cancer of the mind eating all life and vigour out of it and paralyzing its activity. He judges periods and nations by this standard, and according as belief or doubt prevails, he praises or condemns them. In the history of European culture he views the steady progress of belief retarded at certain points by periods of doubt and unbelief. A succession of faiths runs through all the ages from the earliest times to the nineteenth century, with intervals of scepticism between them at certain periods. In the early times there prevailed the faiths of Greece and Rome. These were followed by the Christian faith, after a short reign of scepticism under Pyrrho, Sextus Empiricus and Seneca. The Christian faith had continued to rule for a long time till it was seriously checked by the scepticism of the eighteenth century, represented by Hume in England, Voltaire in France, and the early writings of Goethe, especially his *Werther* in Germany. This again was followed by the revival of faith in the beginning of the nineteenth century, faith not exactly Christian, but a considerably modified form of it, of which Goethe was the herald on the continent. Carlyle has divided his course into four periods accordingly, corresponding to these successions of faith. The first period treated in three lectures is taken up with Greece and Rome, their Pagan faith as well as Pagan scepticism. The second and longest period, treated in five lectures, treats of the Christian Faith and its influence on culture in the four chief countries of Europe: Italy, Spain, Germany and England. France has the chief place in the third period of scepticism, which interrupted and modified the course of the Christian Faith, and is treated in three lectures. The last period of the revival of faith in this century is treated at great length in a single closing lecture on Modern German literature, especially Goethe and his works.

He begins the first period of European culture with the Greeks in whose history he traces three epochs, after the introduction of civilized arts into the country and the formation of societies. The first is the siege of Troy, which happened in the 12th century B.C. The second was that of the Persian invasion, during which 'their fate trembled in the iron scale of destiny for while.' "It is a pity that during this time we have but little information as to the influence produced upon them by the aspect of their beautiful country, its lofty mountains and fertile valleys, the gigantic trees which clothed the

summits and sides of their craggy precipices, and all so beautifully set off by the bright sky which was shining upon them ; as well as the means by which all this was rendered serviceable to them in the ways of daily life. It is only battles that are marked by historians, but subjects like these are rarely noticed." Carlyle, it would thus seem, has adopted the views of Montesquieu, whose great work, as is well known, treats of such influences upon history, views which have been carried to an absurd extreme by the late Mr. Buckle in his great historical fragment. The third epoch is that of Alexander the Great. Like the other two it also has reference to the East. "It was the flower-time of Greece,—her history is as that of a tree from its sapling state to its decline,—and at this period she developed an efflorescence of genius such as no other country ever beheld. But it speedily ended in the shedding of her flowers and in her own decay. From that time she continued to fall and Greece has never again been such as she then was. Europe was henceforth to develop herself on an independent footing, and it had been so ordered that Greece was to begin that. As to their peculiar physiognomy among nations, they were in one respect an extremely interesting people, but in another unamiable and weak entirely. There is a remarkable similarity in character of the French to these Greeks. Their first feature was what we may call the central feature of all others, exciting vehemence, not exactly strength, for there was no permanent coherence in it as in strength, but a sort of fiery impetuosity or vehemence, never anywhere so remarkable as among the Greeks, except among the French. But connected with this vehemence and the savageness to which it led, they had an extraordinary delicacy of taste and genius in them. They had a prompt dexterity in seizing the relations of objects, a beautiful and quick sense in perceiving the places in which the things lay all round the world which they had to work with ; and which without being entirely admirable was in their own internal province highly useful. So the French, with their undeniable barrenness of genius, have yet in a remarkable manner the faculty of expressing themselves with precision and elegance, to so singular a degree that no ideas or inventions can possibly become popularised till they are presented to the world by means of the French language.*

* Cf. "The French are great indeed as cooks of everything, whether an idea or a lump of meat; they will make something palatable of the poorest notion and the barest bone," one of the sayings of Carlyle recorded by Lord Houghton in his *Commonplace Book*, and now first published in his *Life* by Mr. W. Reid, Vol. II., 479.

“And this is true of history and of all things now in the world of all philosophy, of everything else. But in philosophy, poetry and all things, the Greek *genius* displayed itself with as curious a felicity as the French does in frivolous exercises. Singing or music was the central principle of the Greeks, not a subordinate one. And they were right. What is not musical is rough and hard and cannot be harmonised. Harmony is the essence of art and science. The mind moulds to itself the clay and makes it what it will. The Pelasgic Architecture, which still subsists in its huge walls of stones formed of immense *bolars* piled one upon another, presents, I am told now, at the distance of 3,000 years, the evidence of most magnificent symmetry and an eye to what is beautiful. Their poems are equally admirable. Their statuary comprise still the highest things that we have to show for ourselves in that art. Phidias, for example, had the same spirit of harmony, and the matter of his art was obedient to him * * * This spirit of harmony operated directly in him, informing all parts of his mind,—thence transferring itself into statuary and seen with the eye and filling the hearts of all people. Thence Carlyle passes to consider the religion of the Greeks. Polytheism at first sight seems an inextricable mass of confusions and delusions. But there was no doubt some meaning in it for the people. It may be explained in one of two ways: the first is that the fable was only an allegory to explain the various relations of natural facts, of spiritual facts and material; and much learning has been expended on this theory, which is called *Hermenism*.* Bacon himself wrote upon it in his treatise ‘*De Sapientia Veterum*.’ But Carlyle characteristically inclines to the other theory that their gods were simply their Kings and Heroes whom they afterwards deified. ‘Man is always venerable to man; great men are sure to attract worship or reverence in all ages, and in ancient times it is not wonderful that sometimes they were accounted as gods. For the most imaginative of us can scarcely conceive the feelings with which the earliest of the human species looked abroad on the world around them. At first doubtless they regarded nothing but the gratifications of their wants, as in fact wild people do yet. But the man would soon begin to ask himself whence he was, what were his flesh and blood, what he

* *Sic.* in MS., but Anstey has himself queried it on the margin, as it is obviously wrong.

himself was who was not here a short time ago, who will not be here much longer, but still existing a conscious individual in this immense universe. The theories so formed would be extremely extravagant, and little would suffice to shape this system into Polytheism. For it is really in my opinion a blasphemy against human nature to attribute the whole of the system to quackery and falsehood."

Carlyle then defends their Divination, the grand nucleus round which Polytheism formed itself, the constituted core of the whole matter. He sees no quackery about it. On the contrary he sees a great deal of reason in their oracles. If the divine who entered into the deep dark chasm at Dodona for inspiration, "was a man of devout frame of mind, he must surely have then been in the best state of feeling for foreseeing the future and giving advice to others. No matter how this was carried, by divination or otherwise, so long as the individual suffered himself to be wrapt in union with a higher being. I like to believe better of Greece than that she was completely at the mercy of fraud and falsehood in these matters." Surely this sympathetic way of inquiring into the past, entering into the minds and hearts of men of a distant age to think and feel as they thought and felt more than two thousand years ago, is much superior to the supercilious manner of viewing and criticising the creeds and customs of ancient times by importing our modern views into the distant and dim past. And this sympathetic manner, this trying to see good and wisdom in ancient customs, to find out their true basis in sincerity and reason in no way inferior to our own, if applied to the customs and creeds of our ancestors and of ancient India, would lead to much better results, would tend to make us much wiser than the negative barren criticism of antiquity pursued with the vanity of extolling our times at the expense of the past. But to return to Carlyle. This acquittal of Greece from the charge of fraud and falsehood and quackery in her ancient religious system is all the more emphatic, coming as it does from such a hater of Sham and quackery in every shape and guise as Carlyle. 'The Greeks discovered, indenpedently of their idolatry, that truth which is in every man's heart, and to which no thinking man can refuse his assent, they recognised a destiny, a great dumb black power ruling during time, which knew nobody for its master, and in its decrees was as inflexible as adamant, and every one knew that it was there.' Such therefore was the Religion of the Greeks to whose Literature he passes in the second lecture.

The first to be treated are the poems of Homer which Carlyle, quoting Joannes von Müller, says are the oldest books of importance, next after the Bible. 'There are none older even among the Chinese, for in spite of what has been said about their works, there is no evidence that any of them are older than the poems of Homer, some there are about the same age, but very insignificant, such as romances or chronicles.' Carlyle was misinformed as regards the earliest Chinese book of importance, which is the celebrated *Yih-king* or Book of Changes, the first of the famous Nine Classics. This work, which is a philosophical treatise, first saw the light according to Prof. R. K. Douglas within a prison's walls in 1150 B. C., its author, Wan-Wang, having been imprisoned for a political offence. As to Homer, who he was and whether he was the real author of the Homeric poems, very little is known. Carlyle does not believe in one Homer, the author of the Homeric poems.* 'Indeed, the only argument in favour of Homer being the real author, is derived from the common opinion on the point, and from the unity of the poem, of which it was once said, that it was as unlikely that it should be owing to an accidental concurrence of different writers as that by an accidental arrangement of the types it should have been printed.' But Carlyle on reading the poem again, could not find this unity, 'I became completely convinced that it was not the work of one man. One may cut out two or three books without making any alteration in its unity.' But yet the character of Homer's poems is the best among all poems. For in the first place they are the delineation of something more ancient than themselves and more simple, and therefore more interesting, as being the impressions of a primeval mind, the proceedings of a set of men, our spiritual progenitors. The first things of importance in 'the world's history are mentioned there. Secondly, they possess qualities of the highest character of whatever age or country. The Greek genius never exceeded what was done by the authors of those poems which are known as the writings of Homer.*' And these qualities may be reduced to two heads: "First, Homer does not believe his story to be a fiction. He believed his

* Cf. "All history should aim at resembling the Iliad, remembering it is a greater task than the human mind is capable of, really and literally, to present the smallest fact as it itself appeared," one of Carlyle's sayings (*apud* Reid, *Life of Lord Houghton*, Vol. II., p. 441).

narratives to be strictly true. Secondly, the poem of the Iliad was actually intended to be sung—*it sings itself*—not only the cadence, but the whole thought of the poem sings itself, as it were. Now, if we take these two things and add them together, the combination makes up the essence of the best poem that can be written. There is more of character in his second poem, which treats of a higher state of civilization. Its hero Ulysses, is the very model of the Type-Greek, a perfect image of the Greek genius, a shifty, nimble active man involved in difficulties, but every now and then bobbing up out of darkness and confusion, victorious and intact."

But we must leave Homer interesting as he is, and pass on to the philosophers of the Greeks, among whom Pythagoras was the greatest in the earlier times. 'What will immortalise Pythagoras is his discovery of the square of the hypotenuse. It seems that he may rather be said not to have invented it, but imported, for I understand the Hindoos and other people of the East have long known it.' Next comes the historian Herodotus whose 'work is, properly speaking, an Encyclopædia of the various nations, and displays in a striking manner the innate spirit of harmony that was in the Greeks. It is the spirit of order which has constituted him the prose poet of his century.' As regards his credibility, Herodotus is most veracious when he writes from his own observation; but 'when he does not profess to know the truth of his narratives, it is curious to see the sort of Arabian Tales which he collects together.' Of the great Tragedians, Æschylus is held the greatest. 'It is said that when composing he had on a look of the greatest fierceness. He has been accused of bombast; from his obscurity he is often exceedingly difficult, but bombast is not the word at all. His words come up from the great volcano of his heart, and often he has no voice for it, and he copulates his words together and tears his heart asunder.' Sophocles completed his work and was of a more chastened and cultivated mind. He translated it into a choral peal of melody; Æschylus only excels in his grand bursts of feeling. The *Antigone* is the finest thing of the kind ever sketched by man. Euripides carried his compositions occasionally to the very verge of disease, and displays a distinct commencement of the age of speculation and scepticism. He writes often *for the effect's sake*, not as Homer or Æschylus, wrapt away in the train of action; but how touching is effect so produced. He was accused of impiety. In a sceptical kind

of man these two things go together very often—impiety and desire of effect. There is a decline in all kinds of literature when it ceases to be poetical and becomes speculative. Socrates was the emblem of the decline of the Greeks in its transitive state; he was the friend of Euripides. It seems strange to call him so. I willingly admit that he was a man of deep feeling and morality.' But Carlyle characteristically does not approve of his hostile attitude towards the religion of the Greeks. 'I can well understand the idea which Aristophanes had of him, that he was a man going to destroy all Greece with his innovations. To understand that, we have only to go back to what I said in my last lecture on the peculiar character of the Greek system of religion, the crown of all their beliefs. The Greek system, you will remember, was of a great significance and value for the Greeks; even the most absurd-looking part of the whole—the Oracle—this too was shown to have been not a quackery, but the result of a sincere belief on the part of the priests themselves. No matter what you call the process, if the man believed in what he was about and listened to his faith in a higher power, surely by looking into himself, apart from earthly feeling, he would be in that frame of mind by far the best adapted for judging correctly and wisely of the future. They send the most pious, intelligent and reverend among them to join themselves to this system, and thus was formed a sort of non-pagan Church to the people. There were also the Greek games. The mind of the whole nation by its means obtained a strength and coherence. If I may not be permitted to say that through it the nation became united to the Divine power, I may at any rate assert that the highest considerations and motives thus became familiar to each person, and were put at the very top of his mind. But at Socrates' time this devotional feeling had in a great measure given way. He himself was not more sceptical than the rest. He shows a lingering kind of aim and attachment for the old religion of his country, and often we cannot make out whether he believed in it or not. He must have had but a painful intellectual life, a painful kind of life altogether, we would think.' These last sentences, one would think, can very well be applied to Carlyle himself with regard to his attitude towards the old religion of his country. Socrates seems to him to have been an entirely unprofitable character. 'I have a great desire to admire Socrates, but I confess that his writings seem to be made up of very wire-drawn notions about virtue; there is no conclusion in him; there is no word of life in Socrates.' After

Socrates the Greek nation became more and more sophistical. The Greek genius lost its originality; it lost its poetry, and gave way to the spirit of speculation. Alexander subdued them, and no great genius of any very remarkable quality appeared in Greece.

In the third lecture Carlyle treats of the Romans: their character, their fortune, and what they did. At the outset, comparing the Romans with the Greeks, he says: 'We may say of this nation that, as the Greeks may be compared to the *children* of antiquity from their *naiveté* and gracefulness, while their whole history is an aurora, the dawn of a higher culture and civilization,—so the Romans were the *men* of antiquity and their history a glorious, warm laborious day; less beautiful and graceful no doubt than the Greeks, but most essentially useful.' The Romans will not require much discussion in connection with our subject because 'the Roman life, and the Roman opinions are quite a sequel to those of the Greeks; a second edition, we may say, of the Pagan system of belief and actions.' The Greek life itself 'was shattered to pieces against the harder, stronger life of the Romans. It was just as a beautiful crystal jar becomes dashed to pieces upon the hard rocks;—so inexpressible was the force of the strong Roman energy.' The Romans evince the characters of two distinct species of people,—the Pelasgi, and the Etruscans or Tuscans, entirely different from these. The latter had a gloomy heaviness, austerity and sullenness. They were men of a gloomy character, very different from the liveliness and gracefulness of the Greeks. 'In the Romans we have the traces of these two races joined together,—the one proved the noblesse,—the other, the commonalty. The Etruscans had a sort of sullen energy, and, above all, a kind of rigorous thrift. And thrift, though generally regarded as mean, includes in itself the best virtues that a man can have in this world. It includes all that man can do in his vocation. 'Even in its worst state, it indicates a great people, I think. The Dutch, for example,—there is no stronger people than them; the people of New England, the Scotch, all great nations! In short, it is the foundation of all manner of virtue in a nation.'*

Along with this there was in the Roman character a great seriousness and devoutness; and it was natural that 'the Greek religion was light

* Carlyle eulogises thrift in several places in his works, especially in *Frederic the Great*, Vol. II.

and sportful compared to the Roman.' 'Their notion of Fate, which we observed was the central element of Paganism, was much more productive of consequences than the Greek notion; and it depended entirely on the original character which had been given to this people. Their notion was that Rome was always meant to be the Capital of the whole world, that right was on the side of every man who was with Rome, and that, therefore, it was their duty to do everything for Rome. This belief tended very principally to produce its own fulfilment,—nay, it was itself founded on fact: 'Did not Rome do so and so?' they would reason.' The stubborn energy of their ancestors was employed by the Romans in all the concerns of their ordinary life, and by it they raised themselves above all other people. 'Method was their great principle, just as Harmony was of the Greeks. The Method of the Romans was a sort of Harmony, but not that beautiful, graceful thing which was the Greek Harmony. Theirs was the harmony of plan—an architectural harmony which was displayed in the arranging of practical antecedents and consequences. Their whole genius was practical. Speculation with them was nothing in the comparison. Their vocation was not to teach the sciences—what sciences they knew they had received from the Greeks—but to teach practical wisdom, to subdue people into polity.' *

Pliny, says Carlyle, declares that he cannot describe Rome: "so great is it that it appears to make heaven more illustrious, and to bring the whole World into civilization and obedience under its authority." This is what it did. It went on fighting and subduing the world. But it was not with the spirit of a robber. "Some have thought that the Romans had done nothing else but fight to establish their dominion where they had not the least claim of right, and that they were a mere nest of robbers. But this is evidently a misapprehension. Historians have generally managed to write down such facts as are apt to strike the memory of the vulgar, while they omit the circumstances which display the real character of the Romans. The Romans were at first an agricultural people; they built, it appears, their barns within their walls for protection. But they got incidentally

* *Of. The celebrated lines of Virgil:—*

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*

into quarrels with other neighbouring state ; and it is not strange that they should have taken the opportunity to compel them by force to adopt their civilization, such as it was, in preference to the more foolish and savage method of their own. I do not say that the Roman was a mild kind of discipline. Far from that, it was established only by hard contests and fighting. But it was of all the most beneficial. In spite of all that has been said and ought to be said about Liberty, it is true Liberty to obey the best personal guidance, either out of our own head or out of that of some other. No one could wish to see some fool wandering about at his will and without any restraint or guidance. We must admit it to be far better for him even if some wise man were to take charge of him, even though by force, although that seems but a coarse kind of operation. But fighting was not at all the fundamental principle in their conquests ; it was their superior civilization which attracted the surrounding nations to their centre. If their course had been entirely unwise all the world would have risen in arms against these domineering tyrants for ever claiming to be rulers where they had no right at all, and their power could not have subsisted there as it did." This is quite characteristic of Carlyle, with whom power and supreme authority pass as by right from the weak to the strong, from those who were unfit to enjoy them to those who were capable of wielding them. The great contest of the Romans with Carthage which 'as far as probabilities went was more likely to subject the whole world,' was the 'crowning phenomenon of their history.' But the Carthaginians, between whom and the Jews Carlyle sees a great resemblance, were subdued, and he rejoices in their overthrow. Carlyle characteristically does not like the constitutional struggles between the Patricians and the Plebeians, and the internal discord which characterised the history of the later Roman Republic. He therefore rejoices in its overthrow and the elevation of Cæsar. 'I cannot join in the lamentation made by some over the downfall of the Republic, when Cæsar took hold of it. It had been but a constant struggling and scramble for prey ; and it was well to end it, and to see the wisest, cleanest and most judicious man of them place himself at the top of it. The Romans, under the Empire, attained to their complete grandeur. Their dominion reached from the River Euphrates to Cadiz, and from the border of the Arabian desert to Severus' wall up in the north of England. And what an empire was it ; teaching

mankind that they should be tilling the ground as they ought to do, instead of fighting one another. For that is the real thing which every man is called on to do,—to till the ground,—and not to slay his poor brother man.'

Passing from their history to their language and literature, he finds the latter to be but a copy of that of the Greeks; but still 'there is a kind of Roman worth in many of their books.' Their language, too, has a character belonging to Rome. 'Its peculiar distinguishing character is its imperative sound and structure finely adapted to command. So in their books, as, for instance, the poems of Virgil and Horace, we see the Roman character of a still strength.' But their greatest work was practical. It was written on the face of the planet in which we live,—their Cyclopean highways, extending from country to country, their Aqueducts, their Coliseums, their whole Polity! And how spontaneous all these things were! How little any Roman knew what Rome was!" Then he goes on to say that there can be no preconceived plan for the creation of national greatness in the minds of the individuals who follow their own particular aims and plans. "There is a tendency in all historians to place a plan in the head of every one of their great characters, by which he regulated his actions; forgetting that it is not possible for any man to have foreseen events, and to have embraced at once the vast complication of the circumstances that were to happen. It is more reasonable to attribute national progress to a great, deep instinct in every individual actor. Who of us, for example, knows England, though he may contribute to her prosperity? Everyone here follows his own object,—one goes to India, another aspires to the army, and each after his own ends. But all thus co-operate together after all, one Englishman with another, in adding to the strength and wealth of the whole nation. The wisest Government has only to direct this spirit into a proper channel. But to believe that it can lay down a plan for the creation of national enterprise is an entire folly. These incidents form the deep foundation of a national character; when they fall, the nation falls too; just as when the roots of a tree fall and the sap can mount the trunk and diffuse itself among the leaves no longer, the tree stops too!" All greatness therefore as is well known is unconscious with him. Pursuing this train of thought Carlyle starts the paradox that literature makes itself remarkable only during the decline of a nation. "During a healthy, sound, progressive period of national

existence, there is, in general, no literature at all. In a time of active exertion the nation will not speak out its mind. It is not till a nation is ready to decline that its literature makes itself remarkable. And this is observable in all nations. For there are many ways in which a man or a nation expresses itself besides books. The point is not to be able to write a book: the point is *to have the true mind* for it. Everything in that case which the nation does will be equally significant of its mind. If any great man among the Romans,—Julius Cæsar or Cato, for example, had never done anything but till the ground, they would have acquired equal excellence in that way, they would have ploughed as they conquered. Everything a great man does carries the traces of a great man. Perhaps even there is the most energetic virtue when there is no talk about virtue at all! I wish my friends here," emphasises Carlyle, "to consider and keep this in view: that progress and civilization may go on, unknown to the people themselves: that there may be a primeval feeling of energy and virtue in the founders of a state, whether they can fathom it or not. This feeling gets nearer every generation to be uttered. For though the son only learns such things as his father invented, yet he will discover other things, and teach as well his own as his father's inventions in his turn to his children. And so it will go on working itself out, till it gets into conversation and speech. We shall observe this precisely when we come to the reign of Elizabeth [VIII. Lecture]. All great things, in short, whether national or individual, are unconscious things! I cannot get room to insist on this here, but we shall see them as we go on, like seeds thrown out upon a wide, fertile field; no man sees what they are, but they grow up before us and become great. What did that man, when he built his house, know of Rome or of Julius Cæsar that were to come? These were the products of Time. Faust of Mentz, who invented Printing, that subject of so much admiration in our times, never thought of the results that were to follow; he found it a cheaper way of publishing his Bibles, and he used it for no other purpose than to undersell the other booksellers. In short, from the Christian Religion down to the poorest genuine song, there has been no consciousness in the minds of the first authors of anything of excellence. Shakespeare, too, never seemed to imagine that he had any talent at all, his only object seems to have been to gather a little money, for he was very necessitous. And when we do find consciousness the thing done is sure to be not a great thing at all. It

is a very suspicious circumstance when anything makes a great noise about itself; it is like a drum, producing a great deal of sound, but very like to be empty!" This test of unconsciousness, embodied in the maxim of Schiller that 'Genius is ever a secret to itself,' he had already announced and applied to greatness in 1831, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, afterwards reprinted as 'Characteristics' in his *Miscellanies*. It provoked even Sterling, one of his staunchest admirers, to a long refutation in his article in the *Westminster Review* for 1839 (reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays* ed. J. Hare, Vol. I.).

Next Carlyle takes a short survey of the famous masterpieces of Roman literature. Virgil's *Æneid* he thinks entirely inferior to Homer, because there is the fatal consciousness, on which he has just enlarged,—“that knowledge that he is writing an Epic,—the plot, the style, all is vitiated by that one fault.” Then the characters are also inferior. “*Æneas* is a lachrymose sort of man altogether. But when this fatal consciousness left Virgil he became a great poet, as is to be seen in his minor poems. He was a great poet when he did not observe himself, and when he let himself alone.” In his women he succeeded wonderfully. “Virgil was an amiable man and always in bad health, much subject to dyspepsia and to all kinds of maladies that afflict men of genius” and with which Carlyle was but too familiar. And it would have been curious to know whether they moved Virgil's spleen as they did that of his critic and made him vent his anger in the most vehement language in his journals. “We must, on the whole, conclude that Virgil was, properly speaking, not an Epic poet.” Horace too has the same consciousness; and Carlyle finds another hindrance in admiring him, in his perverse moral philosophy, the Epicurean system. Another poet who had an ever-present consciousness of himself is Ovid, who is thus very inferior to Horace or Virgil. From his time “we get more and more into self-consciousness and into scepticism not long afterwards, without being able to find any bottom at all to it!” And Roman literature continued to degenerate till it reached its lowest point in Seneca. “If we want an example of a diseased self-consciousness, an exaggerated imagination, a mind blown up with all sorts of strange conceits, the spasmodic state of intellect, in short, of a man morally unable to speak the truth on any subject,—we have it in Seneca. He was led away by this strange humour into all sorts of cant and insincerity. He had that spirit of self-conceit, pride and vanity, which is the

ruin of all things in this world, and always will be." This decline in their literature was the consequence of their decline in virtue. "The vices of this kind of literature connect themselves in a natural sequence with the decline of Roman virtue altogether. When that people had once come to disbelief in their own gods, and to put all their confidence in their money, believing that with their money they could always buy their money's worth, this order of things was closely succeeded by moral abominations of the most dreadful kind, such as were not known before and never since, the most fearful abominations under the sun." But even in deserts there are oases, and in this dreary age there was one great writer, the greatest of Roman writers, Tacitus,—such is the power of genius to make itself heard and felt in all times. Tacitus displays more of the Roman spirit perhaps than any one before him. In eloquent words does Carlyle eulogise this truly great man. "In the middle of all those facts in the literature of his country, which correspond so well with what we know of the history of Rome itself—in the middle of all that quackery and puffery coming into play time about in every department, when critics wrote books to teach you how to hold out your arm and your leg—in the middle of all this absurd and wicked period Tacitus was born and was enabled to be a Roman after all! He stood like a Colossus at the edge of a dark night, and he saw events of all kinds hurrying past him and plunging he knew not where, but evidently to no good, for falsehood and cowardice never yet ended anywhere but in destruction! He was full of the old feelings of goodness and honesty; he has no belief but the old Roman belief." With Tacitus Carlyle quits the subject of Pagan literature, for after him all things went on sinking down more and more into all kinds of disease and ruin. "After the survey which we have made, we come to the conclusion that there is a strange coherence between the healthy belief and outward destiny of a nation. Thus the Greeks went on with their wars and everything else most prosperously, till they became *conscious* of their condition, till the man became solicitous after other times. Socrates, we said, is a kind of starting point from which we trace their fall into confusion and wreck of all sorts. So it was with the Romans. Cato the elder, used to tell them, "the instant you get the Greek literature among you there will be an end of the old Roman spirit." He was not listened to; the rage for Greek speculation increased; he himself found it impossible to keep back, although he grew very angry about it, and in his

old age he learned the Greek language and had it taught to his sons. It was too late; nobody could believe any longer, and every one had set his mind on being a man and thinking for himself." In the middle of all this occurred an event which was destined to change it all and to regenerate the effete ancient world, the advent of Christ, the new character in which all the future world lay hid. The rise of Christianity may be said to have put a stop to ancient history; and here I stop for the present, and shall resume the subject on another occasion.

ART. XII.—*Subandhu and Kumārila*. By the Hon'ble
MR. JUSTICE K. T. TELANG, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

[Read 29th September 1891.]

Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, in the very learned Preface to his edition of the *Vāsavadattā*, has assigned Subandhu, the author of that work, to some period prior to the age of Bāṇa, the famous author of the *Harsha Charita* and the *Kādambarī*.¹ And Bāṇa, being generally admitted to have been a contemporary of Harshavardhana of Kanuj and Hiuen Tsiang, belongs to the early part of the seventh century A.D.² Subandhu accordingly, has been generally regarded as belonging to the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D.³ In 1885, however, Prof. Peterson, in the Preface to his edition of the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, threw some doubts on the identification of the *Vāsavadattā* which we possess with the *Vāsavadattā* mentioned in Bāṇa's famous introductory verses to the *Harsha Charita*.⁴ But soon afterwards, he saw reason to change his opinion.⁵ And now Dr. Cartellieri has adduced elaborate reasons in detail for adhering to the received view, that Bāṇa knew our *Vāsavadattā*, and in fact for holding further that Bāṇa composed his work for the express purpose of eclipsing Subandhu's fame.⁶ Under these circumstances we are, I think,

¹ P. 11. And compare Prof. Cowell's *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, Preface p. vi.

² I notice that the late Pandit Bhagvānlāl expressed a view similar to mine about the period of Harsha's reign at which the *Harsha Charita* was written (Vol. XIII., *Ind. Antiquary*, p. 74). See my *Mudrārākshasa*, Introduction, note 55 (P. L.)

³ See, *inter alia*, Max Müller's *India; what it can teach us*, p. 331, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. III., p. 143.

⁴ Introduction, pp. 71—2.

⁵ *Subhāshitāvali* of Vallabhadeva. Introduction, p. 133 and note. *Vāsavadattā*'s story is referred to by Daṇḍin also (as to his date see below) for a somewhat similar purpose to that in the *Mālatī Mādhava*. See *Daśakumāra-charita* (Bühler's Ed.), p. 69.

⁶ *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. II., p. 115 et seq. (at p. 132). See also, *Ibid.* Vol. III., p. 143, and *J. B. B. A. S.*, Vol. XVII., p. 81. I confess that I find it difficult to agree with those who regard the verses in the *Harsha Charita* as indicating the existence of Subandhu and Kālidāsa at the same time with Bāṇa

as safe as we can be in dealing with any dates in the history of Sanskrit Literature, if we proceed on the assumption that books and events which can be shown to be referred to by the author of the *Vāsavadattā* must belong *at the latest* to about the middle of the sixth century A.D.

One of the books which the *Vāsavadattā* refers to is a book named *Alan-kāra*, by the famous Buddhist writer Dharmakīrti⁷. This is the writer about whom some interesting facts have been brought together by Mr. K. B. Pāthak in his recent paper on Dharmakīrti and Śāṅkarāchārya, read before our Society.⁸ In that paper, Mr. Pāthak refers to I-tsing's account of his travels, and from the information contained in that account deduces the conclusion, that "it is clear that Dharmakīrti could have flourished only in the first half of the seventh century."⁹ In the first place, I may point out that Mr. Pāthak is

(e.g. Dr. Hall, at p. 14 note of the Preface to the *Vāsavadattā*, and Dr. Peterson's Introduction to the *Kādambarī*, p. 81.) But the point cannot be discussed here. I will only add that if Dr. Jacobi is right in placing Māgha before Bāna and Subandhu, and Bhāravi and Kālidāsa before Māgha (see Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III., p. 144,) the contemporaneous existence of Kālidāsa and Subandhu cannot be admitted (see further, as to the date of Māgha, Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. IV., p. 61 *et seq.* and 236 *et seq.*; and as to that of Kālidāsa, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX., p. 285, with which compare Bühler's remarks about the date of Bhāravi and the grounds for it in the very elaborate Introduction to his *Manu*, p. cxiii. (Sacred Books of the East.) I may, perhaps, be allowed to take this opportunity of drawing attention to the allusion to Manu contained in *Raghu*, xiv. 67, which is not noticed by Dr. Bühler in this Introduction, and which seems to be based on Manu vii. 35. And with reference to the remarks at p. cxii., I may add that Manu is named in the Śābara Bhāṣya at p. 4, though in a very colourless way. Prof. Bhāndārkar has pointed out (Report on Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, p. 32) that Kumārila comes after Kālidāsa, and he appears to have criticised the Dignāga who is believed to have been a contemporary of Kālidāsa. (See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 572.) That circumstance does not, however, in the present state of the question regarding Kālidāsa's date, affect the conclusions set forth in the present paper, although, no doubt, in view of the remarks of Prof. Max Müller at pp. 306-7 of *India*: what it can teach us, the dates of Kālidāsa, Kumārila, and Dharmakīrti must be admitted to be all more or less closely-connected with each other.

⁷ P. 235 (Hall's Ed.) and Preface, p. 10.

⁸ See J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 88.

⁹ P. 90. Dr. Peterson says he is believed to have lived in the middle of the sixth century. (Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, Introduction, p. 138.) And looking at what is said about Asaṅga and Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti, as well

somewhat inaccurate in his statement of the premise from which he draws this conclusion, for it is not at all "clear" from the passage in the Indian Antiquary to which he refers, that I-tsing does, really and truly, speak of Dharmakīrti as his contemporary¹⁰. Secondly, I have already indicated the sort of mistakes which may sometimes be committed by a too rigid adherence to information like that which Dr. Barnell has relied on as conclusive on this point, and which Mr. Pāthak has unhesitatingly accepted as conclusive on Dr. Burnell's authority¹¹. But thirdly, I think, that it is almost impossible to accept any one line of reasoning; or any single group of facts, as conclusive about the precise date of any book in Sanskrit Literature, at all events in the present condition of Sanskrit Chronology, when it is almost literally true that, as I think an American Sanskritist puts it, Indian literary dates are, for the most part, only 'so many pins set up to be bowled down again.' The date of Dharmakīrti, therefore, ought not to be fixed, even upon the unanimous testimony of Chinese¹²

as about Guṇamati and others connected with them, in Max Müller's India: what it can teach us, pp. 282 n, 290, and 305, 308 *et seq.*, and in numerous passages in Mr. Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, e. g., Vol. I., pp. 105, 193 (where Dharmakīrti does not appear to be mentioned) and also in Tāranāth's work (see Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV., p. 141) and elsewhere (e. g., Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., pp. 149, 316) I own I feel very great doubts about the accuracy of Mr. Pāthak's date for Dharmakīrti. The whole of the facts need yet another comprehensive survey like Prof. Max Müller's. For instance, we must consider, *inter alia*, the fact that Sthiramati, who must have been a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (Max Müller's India: what it can teach us, p. 305) had probably died some considerable time before 587 A. D. (see Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI., p. 9). See also, on the other side, Kern's Saddharmapundarikā(S. B. E.) Introduction, p. xxii., which should be compared with Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., p. 192, among other passages.

¹⁰ That is only the interpretation placed on I-tsing's words by one of his translators. Prof. Vasiliev, as stated in the passage quoted from the Indian Antiquary, thinks the meaning to be merely that Dharmakīrti was one of "the teachers nearest in time." It appears to me that Prof. Vasiliev's interpretation is that which agrees better with the other known facts. But, at all events, the rival interpretation, standing by itself, is obviously an unsafe basis for ulterior conclusions. See also Max Müller's India: what it can teach us, p. 312.

¹¹ See my Mudrārākṣhaśa, Introduction, pp. xlviii. xlix.

¹² That even Hiuen Tsiang is not to be implicitly trusted in everything he states, follows from what Dr. Bühler has pointed out in his paper in the Vienna Journal, Vol. II., 269. And as to I-tsing himself, see J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI., pp. 199-200, and Max Müller's India: what it can teach us, pp. 212-3.

and Tibetan writers, and even if that testimony were much more precise than it actually is, without considering the bearing upon that date of this fact among others, that Dharmakîrti is alluded to by Subandhu.

The existence of this allusion has been generally admitted, and I do not now propose to discuss it any further. I wish in the present paper rather to draw attention to some passages in the Vâsavadattâ which seem to me to involve an allusion to the famous Pûrva-Mîmâmsâ writer Kumârila. I must begin by stating at once that the allusions I rely upon are by no means perfectly obvious, nor do I venture to suggest that the views which I am putting forward regarding them may not be quite reasonably disputed. But such as they are, I state the views I have myself formed, and scholars will be able to judge how far they are well founded. I may, however, add as a matter not to be forgotten, that even if the allusions to Kumârila alleged by me are held not to be made out, that circumstance will not affect the further inferences based here on the fact of such allusions. Because, if the allusion to Dharmakîrti is admitted, as it generally is admitted, to exist, then Kumârila being a contemporary of his, as we know from other evidence, the substantial basis for such further inferences is established, independently of the allusions to Kumârila here relied upon.

There are, then, four different passages in the Vâsavadattâ in which the Mîmâmsâ, and Buddhism or Jainism are brought together in Subandhu's *double entendres*. I will set out these passages together before making any comments upon them. The first occurs in a description of the Vindhya mountain, which is described thus¹³—मीमांसान्याय इव विहितदिग्म्बरदर्शनः which may be rendered as follows: the Vindhya mountain which prevents the sky and the quarters from being seen is like the Mîmâmsâ philosophy which has overcome (literally, covered) the doctrine of the Digumbaras. The second passage forms part of the description of the various princes, who had come as

Mr. Beal in the Introduction to his Life of Buddha (Sacred Books of the East), p. xxxi., mentions circumstances showing that Chinese and Tibetan historical writings require to be subjected to critical examination like all others; and see Max Müller's India, what it can teach us, p. 302.

¹³ Hall's Ed. p. 93. The translations in the text, of course, do not, and cannot, bring out the point of the original. But they may be allowed for our present purpose.

suitors for the hand of Vâsavadattâ. Some of the princes are there stated to be¹⁴ केचिज्जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव, तथागतमतध्वंसिनः that is to say, some of the princes who opposed the opinions of those that came in ordinary costume, were like the followers of the doctrines of Jaimini, who destroyed the doctrines of Buddha. The third passage is contained in a description of the darkness of night which is said to be¹⁵ अतिवचनमिव परिहृतदिगम्बरदर्शनम् that is to say, that the darkness which prevents the sky and the quarters from being seen is like the texts of the Śruti or Vedas by which the doctrines of the Digambaras have been refuted. The fourth passage is met with in the course of the narrative of the engagement between the two armies which occurs towards the close of the story. The dust raised on the battlefield is there spoken of, and we are told that मीमांसकदर्शनेनेव तिरस्कृतदिगम्बरदर्शनेन रजसा जजृम्भे,¹⁶ which may be thus translated—Dust was raised preventing the sky and the quarters from being seen, which was like the doctrine of the Mīmāṃsâ, by which the doctrine of the Digambaras was eclipsed.

It will be noticed that in two of these passages, the Pârva Mīmāṃsâ, or system of Jaimini, is spoken of as having overcome the doctrines of the Digambaras, that is, the sect of Digambara Jainas. In the third passage, the texts of the Vedas are described in substantially the same terms. In the fourth passage, the Mīmāṃsâ system receives the credit of having destroyed the doctrines of Tathâgata or Buddha. And the question is, what historical events do these passages refer to? I am not aware, that the earlier Mīmāṃsâ writers, Jaimini or Śabara, had any special contest with the Jainas, or Bauddhas; and in the Sûtras of Jaimini, and the Bhâshya of Śabara Svâmin, I have not come across any such special reference to either sect, as can be of service to us in explaining the allusions contained in the passages quoted above. If the reference had been to the later Mīmāṃsâ, it might, perhaps, have been easier to explain the allusions, because both the Jaina and Bauddha systems come up for criticism in the Sûtras of Bâdarâyana, and the Bhâshya of Śankarâchârya.¹⁷ Under these circumstances, it appears to me that we must explain the allusions in question as being suggested by that contest between Brahminism on the one hand, and Buddhism

¹⁴ P. 144. The original is obscure. I follow the commentator.

¹⁵ P. 187.

¹⁶ P. 297.

¹⁷ See Vedânta Sûtras (Bibliotheca Indica), Vol. I., pp. 546 *et seq.*

and Jainism on the other,¹⁹ in which Kumārila Svāmin¹⁹ is stated by tradition to have taken a prominent part — Kumārila Svāmin who is well known as the most conspicuous of modern writers on the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, and who must have lived somewhere about the time — I say no more at the present moment — in which the author of the Vāsavadattā flourished.

Of that contest the traditional account may be seen most conveniently given, perhaps, in the Śankara Vijaya attributed²⁰ to Mādhavāchārya. In the first canto of that work²¹, we are informed that the gods, strongly impressed with the religious corruption prevalent in the world, repaired to Kailāsa, and asked Mahādeva to adopt some means by which such corruption might be cured, and the Vedic system rehabilitated for the ultimate happiness of mankind. The Śankara Vijaya then states that Mahādeva promised to grant the prayer of the gods; and by way of commencing work at once addressed himself to his son, Kārtikeya. Mahādeva, we read, told Kārtikeya that the gods Viṣṇu and Śeṣha had already become incarnate on earth as Śankarāchārya and Patanjali, for the purpose of saving the Upāsanā Kāṇḍa from destruction; that he himself proposed to appear on earth as Śankarāchārya to rescue the Jñāna Kāṇḍa; but that before he did so, Kārtikeya should take upon himself the human form, “become the full-moon of the Śarad season to the ocean-like philosophy of Jaimini,²² and preserve the Karma Kāṇḍa”: Mahādeva, then, according to the Śankara Vijaya, went on to say as follows: “Descending to the earth, fix all regulations in accordance with the Vedas, after overcoming all the Saṅgatas who are

¹⁸ Comp. on this subject the remarks of Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar in his Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-4, p. 74. I am bound to add here that my attention has been kindly drawn by Prof. Bhāṇḍārkar to pp. 9, 19, 20 of the Śābara Bhāṣya as containing refutations of Buddhistic doctrines, though Buddhists are not expressly named there. It is important to bear this in mind, though I do not consider that it seriously affects the view I am here putting forward.

¹⁹ It is curious to note, that Kumārila is the name of one of the Baudha patriarchs enumerated in the list at Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 149.

²⁰ The late Dr. Burnell considered this work not to be worthy of the great writer to whom it is attributed. This is true, in the sense that the work is not really historical in the proper signification of the word. Whether nevertheless the great Mādhavāchārya did in fact write it, is a question which cannot be here discussed.

²¹ See pp 15-16 (Ānandāśrama series).

²² P. 20, st. 51.

enemies of the teaching of the Vedas. And in order to help you, Brahmadeva also will become a Brahman named Maṇḍana, and Indra a king named Sudhanvan." After these preliminary arrangements are concluded in heaven, the scene changes to the earth, and we are told that Indra in human form became a model king in this world, and Kârṭikeya, as Bhatta *par excellence* or Kumârila, also appeared at his court, "having acquired fame in elucidating the true teaching of the Vedas as expounded in the Sûtras of Jaimini." Mâdhava then gives an account of the contest between Kumârila and the Saugatas before the king Sudhanvan, in which Kumârila is, of course, represented as victorious along the whole line²³. The upshot of it all is that

It may be interesting to epitomize in a note the account given by Mâdhava. After Kumârila reached the capital of Sudhanvan, he and the Buddhist Pandits were on one occasion present in a great assembly held by the king. And there Kumârila made a remark which was intended to provoke the Buddhists and put them on their mettle, and succeeded in doing so. Then, Mâdhava goes on to say, the Buddhists held high debate with Kumârila, in the course of which there was much mutual criticism, and assertion by each party of its own dogmas. Ultimately, however, the Bauddhas were silenced, and Kumârila expounded the Vedic system before the king. But the king said: "Success and ill success in controversy depend upon extent of learning"—meaning to say that it did not depend necessarily on truth or untruth of opinion. He then proposed another test, and said, "Whoever throws himself down from a hill and remains uninjured, his is the true opinion." All parties were taken aback by this proposal, but Kumârila, "remembering the Vedas"—as Mâdhava takes care to note—ascended to the top of a hill, and proceeded to throw himself down from there, saying aloud, "If the Vedas are true, let me sustain no injury." Seeing him uninjured by the fall, the king became a believer in the Vedas. But the Saugatas said, "This is no proof of the truth of his doctrines. The body can be kept safe in this way by means of protecting gems (or talismans) by incantations, and by medicines." Then the king, seeing that they raised disputes about what had occurred in their very presence, declared that he would ask them all a question, and those who failed to answer it, he said he would destroy by engines of torture. Having said this, he brought an earthen jar closed at the mouth with a snake coiled up within it, and asked the Brâhmanas and Buddhists to say what was in the jar. Both parties obtained time till the next day to give their answers, and on that day, both having in the meanwhile received hints from their own superhuman sources of information, the Saugatas said that the jar contained a snake, and the Brâhmanas that it contained Vishnu lying on the body of the great serpent. The king was disconcerted, as he had now become a friend of the Brâhmanist party, but a voice from heaven reassured him, and when the jar was opened, there in good sooth appeared the figure of Vishnu as described by the Brahmanas. Then the king was satisfied, and

Sudhanvan, it is stated, issued a proclamation announcing that he would put to death any servant of his who did not destroy all Baud-dhas, including old men and children, from the Himâlaya to Râma's bridge. And thus the king, "following the guidance of Kumârila, destroyed the Jainas, the enemies of religion. And when the elephant-like Jainas were thus destroyed by the lion-like Kumârila, the Vedic system spread around on all sides without any obstruction."²⁴

We thus see that, according to the tradition embodied in the work of Mâdhava, Bhaṭṭa Kumârila, the great authority on the Mîmâṃsâ philosophy, was the most prominent actor²⁵ in a successful attack on the Bauddhas and Jainas—for both are indiscriminately mentioned²⁶ in Mâdhava's narrative, as may be observed even in the epitome of it which I have given above. If we turn now to the Śankaravijaya, which is supposed, though, as I hold, erroneously supposed,²⁷ to be a work of Ānandagiri, there, too, we are told that Kumârila, having defeated "innumerable Bauddhas and Jainas" in intellectual contests, and having also employed more material weapons against them, destroyed their "wicked opinions."²⁸ It rather appears from a comparison of the two accounts, given by Mâdhava and the pseudo-Ānandagiri, that their narratives were probably not derived from one and the same source. But however that may be, I am disposed to think that the allusion contained in the passages from the Vâsavadattâ which we have quoted above, is to the historical events which form the basis of the statements contained in the two Śankaravijayas that have been now referred to. In saying this, I wish to guard

issued the order for the destruction of the Bauddhas which is mentioned in the text. Such contests as this appear to have been not very uncommon in those days. The following passages in Hiuen Tsiang may be compared. Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., pp. 221, 237, Vol. II., p. 99, Life of Hiuen Tsiang, p. 164, and with the last passage compare the debate between Śankarâchârya and Maṇḍana Mîśra as reported in the Śankaravijaya.

²⁴ Jp. 28-9 and Cf. Prof. H. H. Wilson's Essays on Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III., p. 95. See also Wilson's Religion of the Hindus, Vol. II., p. 66.

²⁵ See Mâdhava's Śankara Vijaya, VII. 6 (p. 290), where Śankara says to Kumârila "I know you are Kârtikeya, come down to the earth to destroy the Saugatas, the enemies of the Vedic ceremonial."

²⁶ Comp. Mudrârâkshasa, Introduction, pp. xvi., xvii. and note.

²⁷ See Indian Antiquary, Vol. V., 28 *et seq.*; also Barth's Religions of India, pp. 169-90.

²⁸ P. 225 (Bibliotheca Indica).

myself against being understood to withdraw from the opinion I have already expressed, on more than one occasion, to the effect that the alleged persecution of Buddhists or Jains by Śankarāchārya and Kumārila is not a historic fact.²⁹ But the traditions, embodied in the two Śankaravijayas and also in the various other sources of information referred to by Professor Wilson in his discussion of this topic, appear to point to the actual historic occurrence of an intellectual or theological debate or debates of, probably, a somewhat special character,³⁰ in which the Brahmanas, headed by Kumārila, were, at all events, in their own opinion, successful against all opponents of the Vedas, whether Jains or Bauddhas. And it appears to me, that those debates, with the result here indicated, explain in their entirety the phrases we have quoted from Subandhu, and also that we possess no information about any other event which can afford any explanation of them. It must be borne in mind that the phrases in question afford no hint of any interference by the civil power in the defeat of the Jaina and Bauddha systems to which they refer. They suggest only the defeat of the two heretical systems of Buddhism and Jainism by the orthodox system of the Mīmāṃsā. And such a defeat,³¹ according to the Brahmanical report of the contest, we may,

²⁹ See Mudrārākshasa, Introduction, pp. xlviii. note and liii. The mention of Jains in note 49 at p. xlv. there was due to the reading of the old edition of Mādhava's Śankaravijaya being जैनान् instead of बौद्धान् in what Prof. Wilson calls King Sudhanvan's fatal decree. In forming a comprehensive judgment on the point made in the text, we must also take note of such an expression as नास्तिका-कदर्थयन् which occurs in the Daśakumāracharita, p. 171 (Ed. by Godbole and Parab), and also, perhaps, of the quotation in Beal's Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsang-King (Sacred Books of the East), p. xii., although that seems to belong to comparatively more ancient times. See, too, Barth's Religions of India, p. 89, *et seq.* But I think the general truth of what is said in the text is not affected by these considerations.

³⁰ As to such debates generally, see, *inter alia*, Max Müller's India; what it can teach us, p. 298, and Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., p. 214. See also Vol. II., pp. 263-4, and the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 56, 69, 160, 176, 180.

³¹ Probably Tārānātha's statements may be fairly regarded as to some extent corroborating the Brahmanical accounts, see Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV., p. 365. And it is, perhaps, not altogether unwarrantable to suggest that his defeat was synchronous with the "new impulses to the worship of Buddha" in China, &c., to which reference is made by Prof. Wilson, Essays on Sanskrit Literature, Vol. III., p. 198, *et seq.* See also Wilson's Essays on the Religion

I think, accept as the historical nucleus around which the fables of the various Śankaravijayas have gathered together.

I ought to add, that in one of the passages above referred to, Subandhu speaks of श्रुतिवचन or Vedic texts, instead of the Mîmâmsâ philosophy. I think, however, that the difference of words there does not involve any substantial difference in the signification—the Vedic texts, the philosophy of Jaimini, the Karma Kânda, all being, in substance, almost synonymous expressions in such a context as we have here to deal with. And the victory of the Vedic system over the Jaina and Bauddha systems which is what they all allude to can, I think, be most properly interpreted as referring to the successful movement of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa.

Only a few lines after the last of the passages quoted above from the Vâsavadattâ occurs another, to which also, I think, attention ought to be drawn, as it is one which may be used, to a certain extent, to throw doubt on the theory I have here propounded. Describing the condition of the warriors engaged in the conflict referred to, Subandhu says कश्चिद्दौक्षिष्ठान्त इव क्षपितश्रुतिवचनदर्शनोभवत्³².—One warrior was deprived of the capacity of hearing, speaking and seeing, like the system of the Bauddhas, by which the Vedic system was destroyed or much impaired. I think the allusion here must be taken to be to the condition of Indian society before the movement of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa—a graphic description of which is put by Mâdhavâchârya into the mouth of one of the gods who went to Kailâsa to invoke the help of Śiva. I will give a free translation of the passage, as illustrating what were supposed to be the main features of the corrupt condition referred to.³³

“You are aware, O Lord! that for our sake Viṣṇu, in the form of Buddha, has been imposing³⁴ upon the Sugatas. The earth is now overcrowded by those Bauddhas, who put faith in his doctrines and vilify the orthodox philosophies. The enemies of Brahmanism hate the regulations of the castes and orders, and speak of the Vedic texts

of the Hindus, Vol. II., p. 367. And as to the Jainas, see Indian Antiquary, Vol. II., p. 227. May we look upon the fact that the Jainas were influential in the South in the time of Pulakeśi (Indian Antiquary, Vol. II., p. 194) as pointing in the same direction?

³² P. 297.

³³ Compare the extract given in Albiruni's India by Sachau, Vol. I., p. 381.

³⁴ Cf. the quotation from the Padma Purâṇa in Vijnâna Bhikṣu's Sâṅkhya Pravachana Bhâṣhya, p. 7 (ed. Jibânanda Vidyâsâgar).

as merely means of livelihood for the priest.³⁶ No man ever performs the Sandhyâ and other ceremonies, nor the Samnyâsa; all are become heretics. They close their ears immediately on hearing any one speaking of sacrifices. How then can religious rites go on, how can we enjoy the fruit of sacrifices? Heretics who believe in the Śaiva and Vaishṇava books, and who bear the marks of the Linga, the discus, &c., have given up all religious ceremonies. What holy Vedic text is there, referring exclusively to the Supreme Being, that has not been mauled by the besotted Bauddhas? What rule of conduct has not been violated by those wicked Kâpâlikas³⁷ who worship Bhairava by means of the fresh-cut head of a twice-born man? Other systems too,³⁸ there are on earth, full of mischief, to which men resort and come to misery. Therefore do you destroy all wicked people, and for the protection of mankind, establish the Vedic system so that the world may become happy."

It appears to me that the last of the passages, above quoted from Subandhu, may very fairly and reasonably be interpreted as referring to the condition of things thus described as existing prior to the appearance of Kumârila, and so interpreted it does not in any way militate against the interpretation of the other passages which has been proposed above.

The result of these arguments, if correct, is that at the time when the Vâsavadattâ was composed, the teachings and controversies of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa had already yielded results satisfactory from the Brahmanical point of view, and that the religious revival, which Kumârila is believed to have inaugurated, had made remarkable headway against the heretical views and practices then current, and, in fact, had successfully restrained the prevalence of such views and practices. Before passing to the conclusions which may be deduced from this proposition, it may be of interest to note, that in the Kâdambari³⁹ and Harsha Charita⁴⁰ of

³⁶ Cf. the verses at the end of the Chârvâka Darśana in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha.

³⁷ These sectaries are mentioned several times by Hiuen Tsiang. See Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I., pp. 55, 76, and Life of Hiuen Tsiang, pp. 159-62 among other passages. And see Śankaravijaya, Canto xi.

³⁸ See the verses referred to in note 34 *supra*, and Ānandagiri's Śankaravijaya *passim*.

³⁹ See *inter alia*, pp. 51, 95, 131, 209 (Peterson's Ed.).

⁴⁰ See *inter alia*, pp. 141, 158, 167, 181, 185, 194, 224, 466, 489, 504, 227 (Kâśmîr Ed.).

Bâṇa, and in the *Daśakumâra Charita*⁴⁰ of Dandīn, we find allusions to the *Mīmāṃsâ*, and to the *Bauddha* and *Jaina* systems as well, but there is no allusion to any contest between them. I do not know that we can draw any historic conclusion from these facts with any certainty. But as we know now that Bâṇa came some time after Subandhu, and in all probability deliberately set himself to outdo the latter, the circumstance that he makes no use of the incidents which Subandhu refers to with so much frequency may be used as suggesting an inference, that while the impression created by those incidents was fresh or at all events had not died out in the time of Subandhu, in Bâṇa's time it was no longer such a living recollection as to be made use of for literary purposes. And, on the other hand, the absence of all allusion to those incidents in Dandīn's work, though it seems to me to be an even weaker basis for any chronological theory, may, so far as it goes, be looked upon as explained either by the circumstance that Dandīn lived before those incidents occurred at all, or that he lived at too great a distance after them. The former view would be in harmony with the opinion of those who assign Dandīn to somewhere about the sixth century A. D.;⁴¹ the latter with that of those who agree with Prof. H. H. Wilson in allotting him to about the eleventh or twelfth.⁴² In saying this, I have not lost sight of the fact, that in my paper on the date of *Saṅkarâchârya*, I threw out the suggestion, that *Mâdhavâchârya*'s statement about *Śaṅkarâchârya* having overcome Dandīn among others in philosophic controversy is not altogether to be scouted and dismissed out of court in a historical investigation.⁴³ If it should turn

⁴⁰ See *inter alia*, pp. 11, 46, 47, 54, 55 (Bühler), and p. 137 of the edition by Godbole and Parab.

⁴¹ See for references *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., p. 82, and Cf. Max Müller, *India*; what it can teach us, pp. 332, 358.

⁴² See Preface to *Daśakumâracharita* in *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I., p. 346, and Peterson's recent paper on Courtship in India. Compare with this *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV., p. 83, where Dr. Bühler mentions a copy of the *Kâvyâdarśa* made in 1105 A.D. In his Preface to the *Daśakumâracharita*, Part II., Peterson has argued this question at some length. In reference to the name *Chhandovichiti*, alluded to in that Preface, it may hereafter be of use to point out that Subandhu mentions a work of that name. (See *Vāsavadattā*, pp. 119-235.) I will not, however, go further into this question on the present occasion.

⁴³ See my *Mudrârâkshasa*, Introduction, p. L. I have since noticed, that Prof. Wilson speaks of the author of the *Daśakumâracharita* as one of the

out hereafter that the tentative chronological assignments here propounded are correct, Mâdhava's statement above referred to may, perhaps, have to be taken *cum grano*, and modified to this extent, that Śankarâchârya should be held not to be exactly a contemporary of Dandin, but to belong to the next generation, his youth, perhaps, synchronizing with the last years of Dandin's life. Or that statement may, perhaps, have to be rejected altogether, in view of the other evidence. But all this is at present too conjectural throughout as regards the premises and the conclusion and the logical bond that unites them, and it is needless therefore to pursue the matter any further.

The main conclusions to which we have thus far been led are, first, that Subandhu in all likelihood belongs to the latter part of the sixth century, or at the very latest to the beginning of the seventh; secondly, that Subandhu knows of the eminent Buddhist authority Dharmakîrti, who must, therefore, have flourished some considerable time before the end of the sixth century; thirdly, that Subandhu probably knew of Bhaṭṭa Kumârila, and the success of his movement for a revival of the Vedic religion as against the Jainas and Buddhists; and therefore, that Kumârila must likewise have flourished some considerable time before the end of the sixth century. These various conclusions, it will be noticed, are, so far as they go, in complete harmony with the proposition which Dr. Burnell puts forward on the faith of the Tibetan authorities examined by him—namely, that Dharmakîrti and Kumârila were contemporaries. I doubt, however, whether they can be reconciled with the statement which Mr. S. P. Pandit has discovered in one of the MSS. of the *Mâlatî Mâdhava* of Bhavabhûti—namely, that Bhavabhûti was a pupil of Kumârila Svâmin.⁴⁴ Now Bhavabhûti is assigned by Prof. Bhândârkar⁴⁵ to the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth. If that assignment is correct, it is hardly probable, though it is not, perhaps, absolutely impossible, that Bhavabhûti's teacher can have been referred to by a writer who belongs at the latest to the beginning of the seventh century.

class of ascetics "descended from Śankarâchârya." See his *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I., p. 203 note. But no authority is adduced for the statement.

⁴⁴ See Gaudavaho, Introduction, Note iv., pp. 205, *et seq.*

⁴⁵ *Mâlatî Mâdhava*, preface, p. iv. See also his Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 15.

Mr. Pandit himself allots Bhavabhûti to about 625 to 685 A.D.; and Kumârila to between 590 and 650 A.D. Even if these dates are accepted,⁴⁶ the conclusions we have arrived at, having regard to the grounds upon which they are rested, can scarcely be reconciled with them. If, therefore, the suggested relation between Kumârila and Bhavabhûti is established, the theory I have here propounded will, in all probability, have to be abandoned. But can we accept the suggested relation on the authority simply of the statement in the colophon of one MS. of the *Mâlatî Mâdhava*? In the first place, of course, we have no means for forming a judgment on the authority for that statement or its value, for we do not even know who makes it.⁴⁷ Secondly, if upon the uncorroborated authority of such a statement, we are to accept the alleged relationship between Bhavabhûti and Kumârila, we cannot properly refuse credence to a similar statement about Subandhu being the sister's son of Vararuchi,⁴⁸ in which case Dharmakîrti and Kumârila and many others will have to be placed some three or four centuries at least before the Christian Era. Again it is to be remarked that the author of the *Mâlatî Mâdhava*, in one of these colophons is described as श्रीकुमारिलस्वामिप्रसादप्राप्तवाग्भैभवश्रीमदुर्वेकाचार्य. And it is a curious circumstance that Umvekâchârya is stated in Mâdhavâchârya's *Śaṅkaravijaya*⁴⁹ to have been the popular name of Maṇḍana Miśra, now better known by his later title of Śureśvarâchârya.⁵⁰ And we also learn from the same work that this Umveka *alias* Maṇḍana Miśra *alias* Sureśvara was a favourite pupil of Kumârila,⁵¹ and according to the other *Śaṅkaravijaya*, his sister's husband too.⁵² If this information is accepted, the name Bhavabhûti will have to be added to the three *aliases* already enumerated! But the puzzle thus presented to us must be left here in that condition. I cannot deal with

⁴⁶ As to which see Dr. Bühler's remarks. *Vienna Journal*, Vol. II., p. 332, *et seq.*

⁴⁷ As a general principle, I should say that information of this character is of little or no historical value except when it is quite consistent with all else known as bearing on the same topic, and fits in quite well with such previous knowledge.

⁴⁸ See Hall's *Vāsavadattā*, Preface, pp. 6-7 and notes there.

⁴⁹ See Canto VII. st. 116.

⁵⁰ Mâdhava's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, Canto X. st. 104.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Canto VII. st. 117. He was also known as Viśvarûpa.

⁵² P. 236.

it now. Returning to the affiliation of Bhavabhûti to Kumârila, it is to be noted, that Mr. Pandit does not appear to have compared the statement of his MS. on that point with the statement of Bhavabhûti himself made in the *Mahāvīracharita* (and, according to one Palmleaf MS., in the *Mālatī Mādhava*⁵³ also) that his Guru was a person who rejoiced in "the well-deserved name of Jñānanidhi." There is no evidence at present available to us which would in any way warrant our holding that Jñānanidhi was one of the *aliases* of Kumârila. And again, although there is some force in Mr. Pandit's argument, that "the tradition that he (*scil.* Bhavabhûti) was a pupil of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa was not invented by his admirers from his being known to be learned in the *Mīmāṃsā*,"—it would, on the other hand, be a most remarkable circumstance that a pupil of the most conspicuous of the modern authorities on the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*—and so excellent a pupil, too, as Bhavabhûti must have been—should say nothing about his own qualifications in that particular branch of learning, when he was stating his qualifications in the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Yoga*. It is further remarkable that he should fail to make any allusion to that eminent teacher, who must, if the traditions about him are of any value, have filled a very large space indeed in the eyes, at all events, of his Hindu contemporaries,—and this, while he does make express mention of his Guru Jñānanidhi, who, apparently has long been consigned to the limbo of oblivion. Nor must we omit to note, that there is considerable weight due to the suggestion of Prof. Bhaṇḍārkar, that Bhavabhûti was probably initiated in the secrets of the *Vedānta*,⁵⁴ and therefore, too, this association of him with Kumârila and the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* cannot be accepted except on very much stronger evidence than is forthcoming in this case. Upon the whole, I think, we are not at present in a position so far to trust the statement about Bhavabhûti having been a pupil of the famous *Mīmāṃsā* commentator Kumârila,⁵⁵ as to be called upon, on the strength of that statement, to abandon conclusions inconsistent with it, which are deducible from the other materials available to us.

I allow myself only a very few words on the paper of Mr. K. B. Pāthak on *Dharmakīrti* and Śāṅkarāchārya, to which I have already

⁵³ Prof. Bhaṇḍārkar's Preface, P. V. and also p. 372.

⁵⁴ See Preface, *loc. cit.* I cannot recall any allusion to *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* doctrines in the dramas of Bhavabhûti.

⁵⁵ Dr. Bühler's caveat on the subject is also a perfectly fair one, see *Vienna Journal*, Vol. II., p. 340.

once referred, His main conclusion is intended to be supported by further evidence which he promises to deal with in a subsequent paper or papers. And holding, as I do, very strongly to the opinion, that most conclusions in Sanskrit chronology must depend on whatever may be the cumulative force of all the evidence that bears upon them,⁵⁶ I do not think it fair or desirable that I should now deal with those arguments which alone he has at present put forward. It is, however, allowable to point out even now, that Mr. Pâthak, in his paper, has failed to compare the facts which he brings forward, with other facts bearing upon the question, even those which are attested by at least equally good evidence. Thus, while he deals with the Chinese evidence about Dharmakîrti's date, he omits to deal with evidence derived from the same quarter regarding the date of Gaudapâda,⁵⁷ which has, of course, a most important bearing on the date of Śankarâchârya ;—or again, when he argues that Śankarâchârya must have flourished more than half a century after Dharmakîrti, “who had already attained the rank of a classical authority” in the time of the former, Mr. Pâthak must also, on the other hand, weigh the fact that that argument, when applied to the mutual chronological relations of Dharmakîrti, Subandhu, and Bâṇa, would place Dharmakîrti about the early part of the sixth century. However, as I have said, I do not wish to examine Mr. Pâthak's argument, while it is yet imperfectly elaborated. When the additional information which he promises is brought forward, then will be the proper time to re-examine

⁵⁶ Cf. the observation of Prof. Max Müller in his Preface to the *Dhammapada* (Sacred Books of the East), pp. x. xi.

⁵⁷ See J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. X., p. 355. The reference given in the Introduction to my *Mudrârâkshasa* is erroneous. And compare the remarks on the work mentioned by Mr. Beal at Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 287. We have not here a case of only equivalence of names—which Mr. E. Davids has very properly refused to accept as conclusive evidence of the identity of the things indicated by the names. (See Introduction, *Buddhist Suttas* in *Sacred Books of the East*, p. xxxviii.) Mr. Beal, after comparing the contents of the two works, holds that the Chinese work is a translation of Išvara Krishna's *Kârikâs* and Gaudapâda's *Bhâshya*. If then the Gaudapâda, who wrote that *Bhâshya* was the teacher of Śankarâchârya's teacher, Govinda Yati (see Colebrooke's *Essays*, Vol. I, p. 233, and Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 236-7, and also Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall's Preface to the *Sāṅkhyasāra*, *Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 39, and note and Wilson's *Sāṅkhya-Kârikâ*, p. 257), it is absolutely impossible to accept 788 A.D. as the date of the birth of Śankara.

the whole case. The points I have now thrown out have been thrown out rather with the wish that when Mr. Pâthak does discuss the fresh facts he is going to adduce, he should discuss them in the light of other facts which are equally well ascertained, and even of those which, though not so well ascertained, have a reasonably satisfactory historical basis of evidence to rest upon. I will add only one word more—and that to point out that if Mr. Pâthak's conclusion, as he indicates in more than one place in his last paper, is that Śankarâchârya "flourished" in the eighth century, that conclusion, as thus put, is *not* consistent with Śankara's having been born in 788 A.D.—which was the conclusion arrived at in his first paper. In 788 A.D. there were only twelve years of the eighth century left, and one could hardly be speaking accurately in speaking of Śankarâchârya as "flourishing," at a time when he was a boy of not more than twelve years of age.⁵⁸ The stories contained in the books of Mâdhava and Ânandagiri which make out that Śankarâchârya was a prodigy of learning at that or even an earlier age,⁵⁹ of course, cannot be treated as historical upon their voucher exclusively.

In this connexion, it is also curious to note, that in Albiruni's famous book, there appears to be no reference to the Vedânta philosophy, or to the followers of Śankarâchârya. There are allusions

⁵⁸ I notice that in Bühler's Introduction to his *Manu* (Sacred Books of the East, p. cxi) the date assigned to the Sâriraka Bhâshya is 804 A.D. As Dr. Bühler accepts the so-called traditional date of 788 A.D. for Śankara's birth, this would make him only sixteen years of age when his greatest work was written. I cannot help suspecting some mistake here. I may, perhaps, be permitted to add, as Dr. Bühler's acceptance of the "traditional" date is due partly to its being supposed to be corroborated by the Śringeri records, that such supposition would seem to be in fact incorrect. The evidence of the Śringeri records has been adduced by me and commented on at J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., 372, *et seq.* The circumstance mentioned in the note there at p. 374 would rather seem to point to the list set out being based on the Kudalgi list. But it is actually stated to have come from Śringeri. With that list may be compared the one given in Prof. H. H. Wilson's *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I., p. 201, *et seq.* I am sorry I cannot refer to Deussen's book, which is cited in Dr. Bühler's note.

⁵⁹ With reference to the observations contained in note 9 in my Introduction to the *Mudrârâkshasa* (p. xxxviii.), it is worthy of remark that in the list referred to in the last note (see. p. 373) 32 years is stated to be the period of "the duration of office" of Śankarâchârya.

to the Śāṅkhya and Yoga systems, and quotations from writers appertaining to them,⁶⁰ and there are also allusions to the Bhagavadgītā and quotations in considerable number from that work.⁶¹ And yet there is no allusion to Śāṅkarāchārya, or his school. The fact is curious in any case, but it appears to me that, if Śāṅkarāchārya's career falls about the middle of the ninth century, as it must if he was born in 788 A.D., it is much more curious than if that career fell about the middle or end of the sixth century. It can hardly be considered probable, that the great movement which is connected with the name of Śāṅkarāchārya should so early as within about one hundred and fifty years, have been wiped off from the memories of men, so that a minute and careful inquirer as Albiruni is by his works shown to have been, should hear nothing about Śāṅkara or his sect from any of his informants.⁶² It may be added, that of the Buddhists, also, Albiruni failed to obtain anything like a full or satisfactory account.⁶³ His references to them are few, and such as he himself is not satisfied with. May it be that the decadence of Buddhism, which had doubtless become accelerated soon after the movement of Kumârila and Śāṅkarāchārya, had in the three centuries following become almost complete?⁶⁴

The same considerations which, as above stated, have induced me to forego for the present an examination of the fresh evidence adduced by Mr. Pāthak, have led me to the conclusion, that it is also advisable to hold over at present that re-examination of the old evidence bearing on the date of Kumârila and Śāṅkarāchārya, which Mr. Fleet invited me to institute in 1887.⁶⁵ Mr. Fleet's discussion of the Nepāl chronology has led him to the conclusion, that according to the traditions of that province Śāṅkarāchārya's date would fall somewhere between 635 and 655 A.D., as between those dates flourished the king Vṛishadêva, in whose reign Śāṅkarāchārya visited the province of

⁶⁰ See *inter alia*, Vol. I, Preface, p. 8, and pp. 27, 30.

⁶¹ See *inter alia*, Vol. I., p. 29.

⁶² Dr. Bühler has shown (see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX., p. 382) that Albiruni speaks of a period which was 270 years before his (according to Sir A. Cunningham's *Chronology*) as *not much anterior to our time*. I may add that the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* of Jaimini is named by Albiruni, Vol. I., p. 132.

⁶³ See Vol. I., pp. 40-1.

⁶⁴ This, of course, is not the only possible explanation. See Prof. Sachau's suggestion at Albiruni, Vol. I., p. xlvii.

⁶⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI., p. 42.

Nepâl, and who named his son after the great philosopher.⁶⁶ Upon this Mr. Fleet naturally thinks, that as the date thus ascertained comes so near to the date deduced by me from other evidence, a re-examination of both, with a view, if possible, to harmonise them by some slight adjustments is very desirable. Although I concur in this view, still I think that as we may now fairly consider ourselves to be "within measurable distance" of some new facts bearing on the whole question, the endeavour to harmonise the dates above referred to should be made in the light of those new facts when published, if, indeed, those new facts do not dispense with the necessity of any harmonising at all, as Mr. Pâthak seems to anticipate. While, however, I do not wish to enter upon a re-examination of the whole question just now, I may add here a remark or two with reference to the point made by Mr. Fleet. It is to be observed, then, that if we accept Mr. Fleet's dates and the Nepâl tradition, the activity, both of Kumârila Bhaṭṭa,⁶⁷ and of Śankarâchârya, will have to be assigned to about the very period in which Hiuen Tsiang was making his famous journey in India, and we must also hold apparently that at least Śankarâchârya must have been in the midst of his career when the Chinese traveller was in the country. If so, it would certainly be a very remarkable circumstance that Hiuen Tsiang should have said nothing about either of the great champions of Brahmanism in his writings. The late Dr. Burnell relied on the absence of all reference in Hiuen Tsiang's writings to Kumâ-rila—"the great and dangerous Brahman enemy of the Buddhists"⁶⁸—as proving that Kumârila must have flourished after 645 A.D. This "negative argument," is, in this particular case, even stronger than as put by Dr. Burnell. For, in the Life of Hiuen Tsiang, we have an account of a discussion between Hiuen Tsiang and a heretic, in the course of which the former noticed in succession the various opinions

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. p. 350.

⁶⁷ I assume here, of course, in accordance with our old tradition, that Kumâ-rila and Śankara may be treated practically as contemporaries. That tradition has not been impeached, as far as I am aware, by those who have written about it, though Prof. Wilson's remarks at *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. II. p. 366, may be read, to some extent, as consistent with a doubt about its correctness. I am not aware, however, of any specific reason for doubting that tradition.

⁶⁸ See his *Śamavidhâna Brâhmaṇa* Preface, p. vi.

of the different heretical schools.⁶⁹ Neither the school of Kumârila nor that of Śankara is there alluded to, although if they were just then becoming so conspicuous as the works and the oral controversies of those two philosophers must have made them, one might very fairly expect such an allusion. Nor can we account for Hiuen Tsiang's silence on the ground that the fame of Śankarâchârya or Kumârila may not then have been established, and that they may not have filled the same large space in the eyes of their contemporaries that they do in the view of posterity. This, as a general observation, would doubtless be perfectly reasonable. But on the hypothesis of the Nepâl tradition, we are bound to hold that Śankarâchârya's fame, and probably also Kumârila's, must have been both widespread and thoroughly established some considerable time before 655 A.D. On the other hand, Bâṇa's *Harsha Charita* enables us to fix the Aupani-shada sect as one which must have flourished at a time before the journey of Hiuen Tsiang in India.⁷⁰ I am, therefore, at present rather inclined to hold, that the careers of Kumârila and Śankarâchârya had both become so much things of the past in his time, as to have had no interest for a Buddhist like Hiuen Tsiang; and that the progress of the heretics noted by Hiuen Tsiang,⁷¹ when contrasted with the flourishing condition of Buddhism, as we gather it from the earlier narrative of Fa-Hien,⁷² must be taken to be indicative of the success which, in the interval between the tours of the two pilgrims, had already been achieved by Brahmanism under Kumârila and Śankara.⁷³

⁶⁹ See Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 168. I have not noticed any reference to this incident in the *Buddhist Records of the Western World*.

⁷⁰ See p. 489 (Kâśmîr Ed.) and the Introduction to my Edition of *Bhartṛihari*, pp. ix., x. In connexion with this, however, it is necessary also to consider the remarks of Prof. Bhândârkar in his Report on *Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-4, p. 74, and see Kern's Introduction to the *Saddharmapundarika* (*Sacred Books of the East*), p. xxviii. note.

⁷¹ See the references collected in the notes pp. xxiv. xxv. to my Introduction to the *Mudrârâkhasa*. And compare *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 216.

⁷² See *inter alia* Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Introduction Vol. I. pp. xxix. xxx. xxxvii lvi. lxxi. xxxii.

⁷³ This is also the conclusion indicated in a note at J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 4, on the strength of the facts there alluded to. I have noticed

Since writing the above, I have seen the observation of Prof. Max Müller in a note in "India : what it can teach us," to the effect that "Subandhu in his Vāsavadattâ recurs several times to the eclipse that has come over the Mîmâmsâ and Nyâya through the teaching of the Buddhists."⁷⁴ I have not noticed any such passages except the last one of those I have quoted. It is, therefore, unlucky that no references are given to them. Prof. Max Müller, however, does refer to Prof. Weber's *Indische Streifen*. On turning up the passage in that work which is relied on,⁷⁵ I find that as far back as 1854 Prof. Weber drew attention to the various passages which I have made the basis of my theory in this paper. None of those passages, however, as already shown, alludes to an eclipse having come over the Mîmâmsâ through Buddhist teaching, but rather the contrary. Nor again have I come across any reference whatever to an eclipse coming over the Nyâya Philosophy.⁷⁶ Perhaps Prof. Max Müller's note was based on an imperfect reminiscence of the passage in Subandhu where मीमांसान्याय⁷⁷ is spoken of. But there the Nyâya Philosophy is not the subject alluded to. The only passage, as already stated, pointing in the direction indicated by Prof. Max Müller is the fifth of those which I have quoted above, and which is the only one of the five that Prof. Weber has not mentioned in his essay. My explanation of that passage I have already set forth.

several passages in Hiuen Tsiang which speak of many classes of Hindu Sectaries dwelling together in Temples in his time, see e. g. Vol. I. pp. 198, 200, Vol. II. p. 14. Might not this fact be taken as indicating that union of all the Vedic sects which must have been in existence at the time of the movement of Kumârila and Śankara against the enemies of the Vedic system, and which probably continued for some generations after the success of that movement? If this suggestion is correct, it will support to some extent the view thrown out in the text.

⁷⁴ See p. 308, note 2.

⁷⁵ Vol. I. pp. 378, 9.

⁷⁶ It is not quite clear why such an eclipse should come "through the teaching of the Buddhists," for as Prof. Max Müller himself points out, eminent Buddhist authorities cultivated the Nyâya Philosophy, and even wrote works on topics connected with it. See India, what it can teach us ; pp. 305, 308, 361, and J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII. pp. 47, *et seq.*

⁷⁷ P. 93.

ART. XIII.—*A Brief Sketch of the Portuguese and their Language in the East.* By J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., K.C.J., K.G.G., K.C.I., &c.

[Read, 1st December 1891.]

“History arrests the wings of Time in his flight to the Gulf of Oblivion.”

Edmund Burke.

When I promised the Honorary Secretary to read a paper before this Society, I at the same time apprized him of the choice of the subject, which was “The Vicissitudes of Mombasa.” This theme is of some importance at present, and one with which my studies of the Portuguese, their great maritime discoveries, their conquests, and the influence of their civilisation in the East for about four centuries, as well as my long connection with this learned Society, had made me somewhat familiar.

It was in September 1875 that copies of some Portuguese inscriptions, discovered on the walls of the Fort of Mombasa by Major Euan Smith, Political Agent and Consul-General, Zanzibar (now, I believe, British Minister at Morocco), were sent to me through this Society for decipherment and translation for the Foreign Department of the Government of India, and were eventually published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for that year.

Seventeen years—*grande mortalis aevi spatium*, a long span of one’s mortal days,—which are sufficient to bring a man from youth to middle age, have alas! carried off many of my early associates here. With two or three exceptions, the faces of those who were then present have been mostly removed by death, and a few by retirement to a distant land.

There was then no forecast, no indication of the actual partition of Africa. There were no Congo Free States, nor the British Protectorate of Egypt. The British Sovereign chartered companies, such as the Imperial East Africa, the South Africa, the Royal Niger, were hardly in an embryonic stage; while the German *Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* and the Italian *Colonia Eritrea* had not been dreamt of.

The Portuguese alone, being the first among the modern nations of Europe to penetrate into the unknown regions of the dark continent, held some possessions on both its western and eastern coasts. Their presence there was the outcome of their early geographical researches, and vindicated the legitimacy of their title to occupation; but their subsequent vacillating policy had encouraged younger and more vigorous nations to contest those rights, to forget that the tradition of their ancient glory entitled them to a degree of regard, and to seek territorial aggrandizement at their expense. The Portuguese, in spite of their comparative decrepitude, resisted these violent attempts at spoliation, although not with much success; for in the end *la force prime le droit*.

But within the period of seventeen years which has intervened, the settlements above mentioned have been fully equipped with the usual concomitants of such establishments. Among the different manifestations of sovereignty, the most tangible are, doubtless, the striking of money and its circulation. The currencies issued by each of these States or companies have added new coins to our numismatic collections. My own coin-cabinet has not been remiss in acquiring specimens of these interesting historical documents, an exhibition of which may, perhaps, interest some of the members present, to whom I shall be glad to show them.

A comparison of the Mombasa copper coin with the early Bombay pice, issued soon after the cession of the island, shows a great difference in the patterns of the two coinages. The East African Company has reproduced, on both silver and copper, the reverse type of the later copper coin of the East India Co., the balance with the word *adel* in Arabic characters between the scales,—a symbol of even-handed or equally-balanced justice which had once such a fascination for the imaginative Hindu.

Mombasa, which was one of the most flourishing and wealthy cities on the eastern coast of Africa during the Portuguese rule, carried on a large trade with both the interior of that continent and the Indian coast, especially with the towns of Diu, Damaun, Bassein, Chaul, and Goa. It was strongly fortified, and contained some remarkable churches and convents. Its history is full of romantic episodes, and its rise, decline and fall, like the vicissitudes of nations or families, cannot fail to teach us useful lessons of the little stability there is even in the highest gifts of fortune.

It is now reported that this ruined city is, like the mythological Phoenix, springing up from its ashes. Its revival, in connection with the progress and development of the recently formed African companies, cannot fail to redound to the welfare of this great peninsula. I have already met with not a few Indians who have inaugurated emigration to Africa—a movement which must eventually swell to large proportions, by leading the overplus of our overcrowded districts to its vast equatorial regions, where no other foreign race can thrive so well. The Portuguese settlements illustrate this fact. A prosperous Indian colonization will, in process of time, not only promote materially the advancement of commerce, but multiply the resources of India by the demand created for its products.

In spite of the attractiveness of this subject, I am obliged to leave it aside for the present and pass on to the one which possesses now for us at least an element of actuality. It is what the French, with their characteristic *verve*, would call *une question palpitante d'intérêt*.

I.

My aim in undertaking this evening, in redemption of a pledge, to read this paper,—a paper written amidst distractions of an absorbing nature—has been not only to record a protest against the degradation involved in the levelling down of the noble language and literature of a European nation to the plane of the Indian vernaculars without any literature worthy of the name, but also to demonstrate the benefits and the civilising influence of this language, wherever it is spoken in the two hemispheres, and that its true place is by the side of the French and the Italian, the Spanish and the German.

In order to attain this object I think I could not select a better platform than this Society. Sir William Jones, the pioneer of British Orientalists in India, said when founding the Bengal Society :—"The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia; and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man, or produced by nature." These words are applicable to our Society. Considering the extent of its researches into the various languages of the East, during the ninety years of its existence, it will not be inappropriate to devote a few lines to the historical survey of the language of the pioneers of Western civilisation into India. The Index carefully prepared and lately published by our intelligent and active Assistant Secretary and librarian, Mr. Tivarekar,

displays, at a glance, the richness of the materials embodied in the 21 volumes of the Transactions and Journals of this Society, which contain more articles and memoirs relating to the history and archæology of the Portuguese in the East than all other Asiatic Journals, and to which it has been my privilege to contribute, within the narrow sphere of my humble efforts, whatever my limited opportunities enabled me to investigate.

Although the dominant note of this paper is the Portuguese language, it is nevertheless surrounded by a series of collateral subjects, which naturally creep in from a close connection with the main theme. It is like the motive in a musical piece almost smothered amidst apparently incongruous and engrossing variations—a mere part and parcel, a *pezzo*, as an Italian maestro would say, of a symphony. Even in the rapid survey of a landscape one cannot overlook the colour, and the light and shade, which make themselves visible. For it is not the Portuguese language alone, but religion, polity, laws, social habits, and numerous other subtle psychic influences, first imported into this country, and imprinted almost indelibly on some sections of the Indian mind, that are so many factors in the moulding of the Indo-Portuguese community. It is, indeed, impossible to detach one part from the other without doing violence to the synchronous character of this social organism.

A recent writer on Portugal, Mr. H. Morse Stephens, treating of the period of the Portuguese navigation and conquests in India, says:—"Yet this period, in spite of all the work which has been done upon it, still remains without an historian, fitted by a thorough knowledge, both of Indian history and of the state of civilization in India at the period in question, to draw out the salient and interesting points of the first direct contact between modern Europe and modern Asia, between the East and the West."

"Yet it is work which well deserves to be done. Prescott, the great American historian, has shown the interest attaching to the first conflict between Spanish chivalry and the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru; but when will an historian arise to tell worthily the story of the contact between the heroes of Portugal and the more civilized inhabitants of Hindustan? Apart from the fascination of this side of the subject, there remains the fact that for a century the intercourse between Asia and Europe remained in the hands of the Portuguese. The history of the Dutch and the English in the

Eastern seas has its own peculiar interest, but they did not find their way in that direction until the nations of the East had been for a whole century in contact with Europeans, and until their attitude had been greatly modified by this contact. Besides, the Dutch and English both went to the East as traders, and not as conquerors, colonizers, and preachers as well. Far different was the intention of the Portuguese. Regardless of the small size and slender population of their fatherland, they dreamed of nothing less than conquering the mighty empires of the East, and imposing Christianity upon them, if need be, by the edge of their swords. Grandiose as this intention was, and full of inconsequence as the idea seems to modern eyes, which have seen with what difficulty England with its teeming population has managed to maintain its hold upon India, even while it has discouraged proselytism and protected native religions, there is something noble in the confidence of the Portuguese warriors in their God, and in their belief that through their means He would spread Christianity throughout the East. For the ambitions of the Portuguese were not confined to India; Portuguese adventurers actually established themselves in power in parts of Arabia, in Burma, and in the district of Chittagong at the head of the Bay of Bengal; Portuguese emissaries found their way to Peking and Japan, closely followed by the missionaries of the Roman Church; and it was while on his way to convert the millions of China to Christianity that St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, gave up his life. And, lastly, it must be remembered at what odds the Portuguese fought and tried to proselytize in Asia: at many months' voyage from their homes and base of operations; only able to reach their destinations after sailing in feeble craft round the hardly known, unexplored, and dangerous coast of Africa; deprived of the modern knowledge alike of tides and winds, and of the means to promote existence in tropical climates; they arrived amidst the hostile millions armed only with clumsy arquebuses and their swords; and yet with all these drawbacks they were victorious in many hard-fought fights against more powerful armies than their European successors in the East ever met."

Though this is a long quotation, it is nevertheless an admirable *résumé* and brief epitome of the facts treated of in this paper—facts which it is a fashion with some and a policy with others to ignore or to allow, in the words of Burke, to fly "to the gulf of oblivion." But the epoch, to which no historian has hitherto dedicated himself,

affords suitable work for a mind fitted for minute researches and for large speculations. No justice can, therefore, be done to it within the narrow bounds of this paper, where compression rather than expansion is the object; nor do I possess the necessary qualifications for the literary treatment of a subject which lends itself peculiarly to the artistic beauty of form.

Besides, without unbroken time there can be no consecutive thought. The versatile American scholar, Lowell, who recently died, says, in one of his literary essays: "It is my misfortune that in the midst of a reflexion or of a sentence I am liable to be called away by the bell of private or public duty." If literature, allied to diplomacy, is thus liable to be disturbed, it is more so when combined with medicine. This essay is an instance in point. After I began it I was repeatedly interrupted by the call of duty, and it was not till the third day that I was able to resume its continuation. This is the principal reason why the History of the Portuguese in India, announced under my authorship for a long time in the list of his works of the Oriental Series by the late Mr. Nicholas Trübner, an eminent London publisher, has yet remained a *desideratum*. Nor is it possible, at present, with all the best materials available, to have more than an episodic history, which may eventually go to form a consecutive narrative, with all those details which, according to Thierry, are the soul of history.

Perhaps this tentative and fragmentary work, this parcelling out of a great subject into separate and independent sections is, after all, an advantage. "Beware," said Goethe to Eckermann, "of attempting a large work. It is exactly that which injures our best minds, even those distinguished by the finest talents and the most earnest efforts. I have suffered from this cause, and know how much it has injured me. * * * * if you have a great work in your head, nothing else thrives near it; all other thoughts are repelled and the pleasantness of life itself is for the time lost." This opinion, the result of "the lifelong experience of the greatest master who ever consciously made an art of literature," comes with the force of an advice to us all.

In size Portugal is a little larger than Greece, and its inhabitants seemed, like those of that glorious peninsula, destined by nature to confide themselves to the sea. Without the artistic genius and the philosophic culture of the Hellenes, they had nevertheless, in common with the latter, that love of freedom and spirit of adventure which have invariably characterised those born in maritime districts.

Dwelling on the western side of the Iberian Peninsula, which is washed by the waves of the Atlantic, the Portuguese, from their early nautical propensities, have been likened to the Phœnicians of old ; but the similarity is only partial as the Lusitanian family unfortunately lacks the commercial instinct which appears to have been inborn in that race of almost prehistoric traders.

The renaissance in Europe, however, gave Portugal, aided by its race, climate, and admirable geographical position, what Prof. Cesare Lombroso, in *Les petites et les grandes causes de Révolution*, calls the *élan évolutif*, which all nations, worthy of the name, are doomed to experience during the active phase of their existence. Mr. Herbert Spencer has shown that peoples do not all follow the same course of development, and are not governed by the identical *à priori* reasons in their successive stages of evolution. To them, then, one may apply what Horace says of books : *habent sua fata*.

The first Portuguese expeditions to India, their proudest achievements beyond the seas, formed but a continuation of the crusade and of the religious propagandism, which had led them some years before to the coast of Africa. With the support of imagination fostered by an age of faith, with strong and practical convictions and with belief, as Wordsworth says: "ripened into faith and faith become a passionate intuition," it was easy for the countrymen of Viriato to crowd into the life of three generations the work of some centuries.

Convictions when well grounded are always the keynote of triumph and the touchstone of success. Leopardi, the saddest of that brilliant galaxy of Italian poets, who illumined the early part of this century, says that to feel with intense conviction about anything is among the lost arts ; but he must have written this joremiad when he was at Recanati in his abnormally satiric mood. The Lusitanian race, however, does not appear to have ceased to believe. At least that batch of the Indians, who were first brought within the sphere of their influence by the early preachers, seems, on the contrary, to suffer from an excess of convictions. But one must not underrate the force which the past exerts on the present. There is a moral law which limits the violence of even modern culture or of any social change by the conditions which precede it. This may be partly the result of the indolence which is inherent in human nature.

The apparent scepticism of our times is perhaps due less to the democratic spirit of the age than to the absence of guiding individualities, who were formerly the inspirers of the stirring events which grace the annals of mankind and in whom the *élan évolutif* of the people became incarnate. When nations like the Portuguese were governed by absolute monarchies, and princes reigned as well as governed, it was possible for one strong-willed personage to organize and to carry out an historical enterprise to completion. To-day princes reign but do not govern, and no great scheme can succeed without the co-operation of the people, in whose hands are the custody of the laws and the key of the coffers. Prince Henry "the navigator" could alone realize his ideal, embodied in the device of *Talent de bien faire*, by the maritime explorations which he undertook for "the glory of God and the extension of the faith." The single design and inspiration of the Solitary of Sagres did more than all the collective strength of the *doctrinaires* of his time. His example did not take long to communicate itself to the other princes of the reigning dynasty, his individualism passed into a corporate enthusiasm, and the impulse imparted to his bold mariners soon became general.

Camoens gives expression to this national feeling :

"Onde vem semear de Christo a lei,
E dar novo costume, e novo Rei."

Lusiadas, c. vii., e. 15.

Burton translates it thus :—

"And where the Saviour's seed they wend to sow,
Enthroned new lords, new lights, new laws bestow."

Burton's name enforces a digression, and affords me a rare opportunity for the acknowledgment of my debt to him. When, in reading the fasciculus III. of my *Indo-Portuguese Numismatics* in this room, a short while ago, I alluded to Sir Richard Burton's *Lusiads*, the greater part of this work was in the press. I met him subsequently at Trieste, within a few months of his death, and received from his hands the complete poem and commentary in six volumes. And now that this gifted man has passed away, lamented by all, leaving his production behind him to testify to the high endowments of his head and heart, I cannot let this occasion slip without rendering a tribute of homage to the memory of one who has done so signal a service to Portuguese Scholarship. As a translator and commentator of the great "epic of

commerce' he has doubtless helped to make it more popular amongst the large English-speaking community in the world than all his predecessors in either Europe or America.

In the two lines I have quoted above from Camoens, the poet not only points out the final scope of the fleet in quest of the route by sea to the east, commanded by admiral Vasco da Gama, but with a prophetic instinct and unselfish aim foresees in the following stanzas the successive participation of other nations in the glorious task of civilising the world, when he addresses a notable and poetic exhortation to the princes of Christendom exhorting them to like enterprises in India.

The kings of Portugal always impressed on their viceroys the necessity of promoting the propagation of Christianity in India, a remarkable instance of which is given by D. João de Castro's biographer, who prefaces a letter from John III. to that eminent viceroy thus:—"para que veja o mundo, que nossas armas no Oriente trouxêrão mais filhos á Igreja, que vassallos ao Estado," 'in order that the world may see that our arms in the East brought more sons to the Church than vassals to the State.'

The weight of evidence, both documentary and traditional, establishes the fact that the propagation of religion was with the Portuguese a far greater object than either trade or politics, and that the conversion of a heathen was deemed of greater importance than the acquisition of a kingdom. Affonso d'Albuquerque, the founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East, used to call the merchants *attentadores de Satanaz*, 'Satanic tempters.' But Albuquerque's estimate of the trading class is a privileged one, and will not be generally concurred in in this mercantile age. The *Lendas* of his private Secretary, Gaspar Correa, the *Commentarios*, edited by his son, and his letters addressed to king Emmanuel, prove that this modern Cæsar had most of the virtues without the failings of his celebrated Roman prototype. A great statesman, an eminent scholar, a brave soldier and sailor, Albuquerque was a theologian as well. His attempt, although unsuccessful, to convert with technical arguments the Rajah of Cochin to Christianity proves it. This fact I have but lately ascertained in a letter addressed by Albuquerque himself from Cochin to king Emmanuel on Dec. 20th, 1514, just one year before his death on board the *Flôr de Rosa* in the Goa harbour.

His interpreter during this religious controversy was Duarte

Barbosa, the renowned author of a work on the East Coast of Africa and the Malabar, translated by the Hon. H. Stanley for the Hakluyt Society.

Like Wellington, Albuquerque neglected no details. He was the first to conceive the idea of enlisting various races of men as soldiers in his army, the originality of which has been ascribed to Dupleix. He knew that for a small country, like Portugal, whose rapid rise was phenomenal, an intelligent system of colonisation was the only means of preserving the conquests he had made. He knew also that the safest way to spread his king's dominion was, like that of Rome, by creating new interests, and binding them together less by the force of arms than by broad human sympathies. But he did not know the climate and its deleterious effects when he planned the organization of his Indo-Portuguese colony, and that he was adding one more caste, from various causes an overbearing one, to the already long list of castes.

Albuquerque was, moreover, a man of extraordinary courage and unparalleled boldness. His audacious and gigantic projects to destroy the city of Mecca and to divert the course of the Nile into the Red Sea, in order to both smite and starve the Turk, Commander of the Faithful and Guardian of the Kaaba, who was then the greatest enemy of Christendom, evince the daring and fearlessness of his character and the magnitude of his conceptions. Of him may truly be said what Louis Enault says of Justinian:—*Il y a plusieurs personnages dans sa personnalité complexe.*

I have mentioned only Albuquerque and Castro—the latter also a scholar and author of three valuable *Roteiros* or works on navigation—as they are the two of the representative historical characters about whom have gathered the great traditions of their nation in this country. Possessing a certain archaic simplicity of character, developing into the noble traits of frankness, honesty and outspoken truth, they have been accepted as types of the several national ideals of that glorious epoch. With opportunities of amassing a fortune and becoming as rich as a Cræsus or a Clive, Albuquerque died nevertheless poor, recommending his successor to avoid a public sale of his garments as they had rents in them. Castro, who during a financial crisis brought on by the second siege of Din had mortgaged a few white hairs of his venerable beard, on the security of which the ladies hastened to offer their jewels, expired in the arms of Francis Xavier, having

for his bed a coverlet, and his effects consisting of only three *larins* or silver pieces. Both of them felt the charm of sacrifice, the proud satisfaction of having done their duty, the poetry of self-denial, and an utter contempt for the prosaic realities and material interests of life.

There were other personages, whose heroic deeds filled a large space in the eyes of their contemporaries, and the eclecticism of whose tastes was displayed in the building of palaces, the laying out of gardens, and the adornment of churches, which now lie scattered all along the coast in picturesque ruins, a silent epitaph of departed greatness; but they were not in the foremost rank of the founders of the empire or of the architects of the fortunes of the nation. Nor have they earned the verdict of history for any extraordinary gifts, except perhaps that of humanising chivalry, which was a national characteristic. It is this racial peculiarity, then, which has made the Portuguese a nation of missionaries.

I come to the threshold of another great subject, equal in magnitude as well as in interest to the Portuguese language in India—the royal patronage of the eastern missions. *Padroado* or “Portuguese royal patronage of the Catholic missions in the East” is a phrase which has become one of the commonplaces in Indian conversation; and it requires some effort to bring it from the region of formulæ to that of realities. It is a subject which, even if its bare outlines were rapidly sketched, would form an admirable religious romance. The convictions of a million of Indian Catholics, amongst whom the development and spread of the idea of solidarity have led to the spiritual ties, which bind and weave together into one whole the web of the Indian Catholic family—have won for the *Padroado* an attachment which receives its consecration from public conscience. The loyalty of this mass of people is based on sentiment and not on policy, for policy is changeable, while sentiment, especially when deep-rooted, has in it all the elements of stability. Even when violated it reasserts itself.

The *Padroado* represents one of the many franchises or immunities which the Lusitanian, like the Gallican Church, prizes and fights for against the spirit of Ultramontanism. The prerogative of the *Padroado* consists not in the mere investiture with an ecclesiastical dignity. One has but a faint conception of the amount of treasure, blood and martyrdom which went to the winning of the Portuguese royal patronage of the Catholic missions in the East. The

record of such achievements, however poor the words in which they may be described, is worthy of being regarded as the missionary epic of modern times.

Having thus far endeavoured to demonstrate that the largest factor in the historic development of this foreign group of crusaders, whose evangelical spirit acted as leaven on the mass of the inert indigenous population, was proselytism; it remains now to briefly allude to the other factors—trade, political dominion and education, which, though only in a subordinate degree, helped considerably to spread the Portuguese tongue—a tongue whose vitality is, indeed, remarkable, for it is still spoken in Cochin, Colombo, Malacca, and other places in the East, after the political influence which introduced it had ceased for about two centuries and a half, thus affording a striking contrast to the Dutch language, which, on the contrary, has disappeared almost entirely from those localities, which only less than a hundred years ago owed allegiance to Holland. It is true that Portuguese, without direct touch with the mother country, has in such outlandish corners, where it so tenaciously survives, fallen into an obsolete form, or degenerated into several dialectic variations, but it is nevertheless an offshoot of the parent tongue.

II.

We shall pass to consider first the two important factors—trade and political power—which were, after the missions, mainly instrumental in the diffusion of Portuguese in this country; although trade amongst that nation, it must be confessed, was not so efficacious as among the Anglo-Saxons, in rendering the use of its tongue almost general in the commercial community. The Portuguese are not a trading nation. They have no business aptitude nor mercantile tactics, which latter faculty, however, some qualify as mere greed for gain, unscrupulousness, and absence of conscience. Be this as it may, the Portuguese commerce in the East was a royal monopoly, for monopoly was in those days the universal rule, and monopolies do not help a people to be commercial. They had inherited, besides, an uncommercial propensity—bigotry—which repelled the advances of the heathen, and refused to negotiate conventions with the infidel. It led eventually to the establishment of the inquisition, which, in spite of all the good its advocates say of it, destroyed all except

what Lombroso calls *pauperes spiritu*, showing signs of premature decay or approaching senility, now well evident throughout the Iberian Peninsula, and possibly the result of the sombre drama of heredity. The Portuguese would hold no commercial intercourse with the infidels, unless sanctioned by the Pope. As early as 1454 Nicholas V. granted Prince Henry of Portugal a licence to trade with Mahomedans. Happily it came in time, for without the papal bull the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope would have been only a voyage of exploration, without any other practical results, and Vasco da Gama the Humboldt of the renaissance.

Notwithstanding their disinclination to trade, and nourishing the feudal idea of commerce being a derogatory pursuit, in which only the inferior classes could join, the Portuguese had, nevertheless, two chivalrous traits in their national character—integrity and unselfishness,—although associated with a little seignorial arrogance, which made them in the end win the affections of the Indians and diffuse their language. Integrity is, indeed, the main support of a people, for without it “wealth is as poor as poverty, and knowledge as blind as ignorance.” It is true that in the distribution of the gifts of humanity, in which more or less satire is mingled, the good and the bad are always mated—and the Portuguese chronicles in the East are unluckily not free from the stain of rapine and speculation, but egotism is the defect least visible in them. Nature and breeding seem to have intended them for types of generosity. There is discernible among them none of that illiberal heart and withered conscience, none of those tragedies of selfishness which abound elsewhere, nor are there found among them millionaires, whose careers are nothing but an apotheosis of egotism, but who are withal a constant object of worship with an unthinking and gaping populace.

The first and most beneficial effect of commerce is the removal of prejudices. There are already so many social antipathies in the world, that men of science are trying their utmost to remove them. Prof. Virchow at the Anthropological Association of Germany and Austria said lately :—“If different races would recognize one another as independent co-labourers in the great field of humanity, if all possessed a modesty which would allow them to see merits in neighbouring people, much of the strife now agitating the world would disappear.” There is, however, no more effectual remedy for the cure of this great social malady than commerce, or as Victor Cherbuliez puts it tersely

thus:—"Le préjugé est un meurtrier, les blessures qu'il fait sont redoutables, et le commerce est un médecin qui les guérit; c'est presque un drame." And the Portuguese royal trading monopoly in the East was, indeed, a drama, while the *Lusiads* are the epic of commerce. There is, anyhow, a certain dramatic fitness about the deeds of the early navigators, soldiers, priests, and merchants, which claim admiration on account of their epic completeness.

The political influence of the Portuguese in India has already been treated at length by some distinguished writers. Language, like trade, follows the flag, and it is but natural that where Portugal held dominion there its language should become official. This political power combined with trading relations with the native courts made Portuguese a *lingua franca* long after the star of the Portuguese was on the decline; for as late as the time of Lord Clive and his immediate successors, the diplomatic language with the Indian princes was Portuguese, as is attested by the documents which have been lately published. To add a few details: a traveller in 1636 says that Portuguese was spoken at Gombroon by the people, being introduced from Hormus. An edition of the Bible was published in Portuguese for Batavia and the other isles of the Eastern Archipelago. Hamilton about 1700 remarks: "Along the sea coast the Portuguese have left the vestiges of their language; though much corrupted, yet it is the language that most Europeans learn first, to qualify themselves for a general converse with one another as well as with the different inhabitants of India." The early Protestant missionaries, Ziegenbalg, Clarke, Kiernander, Ringeltaube and others, about a hundred years ago, employed it as the medium of intercourse with the natives until they learned the vernaculars. Le Bas remarks, in his life of Bishop Middleton, "The Portuguese language may perhaps be considered as one favourable medium for the diffusion of the true religion throughout the maritime provinces of the East." It is no wonder, then, that these statements should have led Sismondi to form a somewhat exaggerated notion and write, "in India Portuguese is the language of commerce," and a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, as late as 1814, to assert that "if in the eventual triumph of Christianity in India, a Romish Church should be formed, Portuguese will be the language of that church wherever it extends."

The results of this influence, especially the antagonism to the Turk, have been described with great critical acumen by Robertson in his *His-*

torical Disquisition concerning Ancient India, and by others. Mr. J. Morley, referring to that work in the *Fortnightly Review*, says:—"The chief point worked out here, Bk. I., § 7 (already indicated by Raynal, Sec. IV., § 8) is that the "most remarkable and momentous thing about the Portuguese conquests was the check they inflicted on the growth of the Ottoman Power, at a moment in European history when the Christian states were least able to resist and least likely to combine against the designs of Solymán. This is the observation best worth making about the Portuguese conquests."

III.

It remains lastly to mention the influence of the educational establishments founded by the Portuguese in India, since their arrival, for promoting the cultivation of their language, and its present condition.

The earliest document on the subject, or, to use a bureaucratic phrase, the first royal ordinance to organise a department of Public Instruction in India, is a letter from King John III. to Viceroy D. João de Castro, dated March 8th, 1546. It runs thus:—*Além do que vos encomendo mui apertadamente, que em lugares acomodados fundeis estudos, e casas de devoção*, "I urgently recommend you, besides, to found in suitable places schools and houses of devotion." This led to the foundation of the *Seminario da Santa Fé*, or "Seminary of the Holy Faith" in Goa, which was but an initial step towards the establishment and progressive advancement of many other kindred institutions both in Goa and in the other settlements throughout the East. The object was, *se creassem em letras e bons costumes meninos de todas as Nações Orientaes*, "to educate in letters and good customs boys of all the Eastern nations." No more conclusive evidence is necessary to convince one of the solicitude and anxiety with which the king and his successors looked forward to the prosperity of this seminary. They revert with fondness to this subject in their correspondence with successive Viceroys from Castro downwards.

The "Seminary of the Holy Faith" was soon in working order, having admitted youths of diverse Asiatic and African races, which comprised the "Canarins, Decanis do Norte, Malavares, Ohingalás, Bengalas, Pegús, Malayos, Jaos, Chinas e Abexins." Those who have visited the *Esplanade des Invalides* during the late Paris Exhibition, will be able to realize the charm and interest attaching to such an

anthropological collection of living specimens. Even the Roman Propaganda College does not hold such a curious agglomeration of varied Oriental types as the "Seminary of the Holy Faith" in Goa, the Rome of the East, once did within its historical precincts. There is an omission in the above list,—there is no representative of Japan; but at that time "the flowery island" was not known. It did not take long, however, before St. Francis Xavier added a genuine Japanese, by name Angiró, whom he baptized with the additional cognomen of 'Paulo da Santa Fé.' It was about this time that they began in earnest "to create," as the document states, "Evangelical workers for the missions of India."

This was an epoch big with problems, social and spiritual, that four succeeding centuries have in vain toiled to solve. This was a time full of seeds of promise, if only these seeds had had time to germinate and ripen into harvest. One's mind is powerless to evolve a revelation from this cosmopolitan congeries of youthful intellects of various Eastern nationalities, in which one might love to see mirrored some of the early stages through which the subtle influence of Christian civilisation must have passed in its slow evolutionary progress. It would have been highly interesting to observe how the discipline of caste and the sobriety of habits were being gradually replaced by principles inspired by lofty motives and theoretically divine, but requiring in practice a constant watchful care to turn them into good habits.

But, in spite of all this great and noble exertion, and of the enormous sacrifices of all kinds, this outburst of religious enthusiasm failed to add more than a million of adherents to the Church of Rome, a number which is, after all, but a drop in the ocean of the teeming millions amongst whom the Faith was preached. Gustav Mosen, quoted by Prof. Max Müller in his *Biographies of Words*, says, speaking of the Home of the Aryas, that one couple, having two children, would, if every successive marriage was blest with two children only, produce a population of some thousands of millions in about 1,200 years. It is more than a fourth of this period since the Apostle of the Indies converted according to his biographers 1,200,000 souls. They were most probably all bachelors. Allowing, however, for exaggerations, it appears that had it not been for freaks of intolerance and of blindness to the true nature of the interests of the people, the slow and sure and constant though unseen forces that Mr. Lecky, the historian of morals, believes

to permeate human society would have perhaps of themselves spread the Catholic faith broader and deeper than by violence. History teems with rebukes, with repentances and with lessons of experience that tell of rare opportunities lost and never to return. The cycle of the missionary activity in India is now closed. There are no more conversions as there are no more *autos da fé*.

Each of these boys became a centre from which irradiated Catholic learning and the dissemination of the Portuguese tongue. They had most probably some share in the production of the innumerable Portuguese dialects now spoken in Asia and Africa. M. Hugo Schuchardt, of Gratz, has been publishing in Vienna since 1882 a work, in parts, entitled *Kreolische Studien*, in which specimens of these dialects are given. I have had the pleasure to contribute to this interesting study, especially to that relating to the dialect of Ceylon, in which the New Testament was published in 1852 by the Wesleyan Mission, and of which there is a grammar, printed at Colombo in 1811. A copy of this curious book is in the library of this Society.

As religious orders were introduced into India, they likewise opened colleges in connection with their convents. There were the Franciscans, who had their colleges of St. Boaventura and Reis Magos, the Jesuits those of St. Paul, attached to the seminary, and of St. Roch, the latter also called "the University of Goa," the Dominicans had the college of St. Thomas, and the Augustinians, of Popolo. Then there were branches of these establishments in Bassein, Thana, Cranganore, Cochin, Malacca, &c. Even laymen vied with the religious in founding colleges. Antonio Galvão, styled "the apostle of the Moluccas," founded one as early as 1540 at Ternate, for the children of the native converts in Java and the neighbourhood. He was one of those extraordinary men, as Coleridge in his *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier* remarks, who graced from time to time the pages of the history of Portuguese Asia. He was also the author of a work on navigation, which was translated in 1862 by Vice-Admiral Bethune for the Hakluyt Society. I have referred to these institutions more at length in my "Materials for the history of Oriental studies amongst the Portuguese," in the *Atti del IV. Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, published in Florence in 1880, and also in the brochure on the *Konkani Language and Literature*, contributed by me to the Bombay Gazetteer in 1881. Those who are disposed to go deeper into the subject will find in those two works ampler information than

can be conveyed by brief extracts. Besides, next to quoting others, there is nothing so wearisome as to quote oneself.

In a small country like Portugal with an extensive colonial empire a painful feeling of disproportion awoke the nation to the necessity of finding among the natives the missionary agency, just as Albuquerque had found the military one. Still the religious orders were reluctant to admit the natives into their ranks. The new gospel of brotherhood had brought with it, and in spite of it, that kind of Portuguese jingoism, which was based on an assumption of superiority of race, as their prowess in war was encouraged by the conscious possession of improved arms of precision. In the absence of authentic records the value and importance of testimony of contemporary European travellers are of great interest in elucidating many obscure points in the annals of the time. One of these travellers writes:—"A native was not thought worthy of being a religious in this life, although he be a saint in the next." They did not object to his company in heaven, as there they are all equal; not so on this planet, where "no equality exists except before the law, at least since the French Revolution.

But Vico in his *Scienza Nuova* has laid down the axiom that selfishness itself, under the restraint of religion, is the source of civilization and humanity. "L'uomo nello stato bestiale ama solamente la sua salvezza;...:distesi gl' imperj sopra piu popoli ama la sua salvezza con la salvezza delle Nazioni." Thus the Portuguese were at last obliged to love the Indians and admit them into their various orders; and the natives became their best co-operators. "The people of India," says Macaulay, "when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at the same time quite as highly civilised as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the Cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, viceroys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain." Albuquerque knew this, and the great Marquis of Pombal still better, when he wrote to the Viceroy in Goa to consider the youths of the best native families in the country as equal to the cadets of the nobility at home.

The religious orders in Goa at last agreed not only to an equality of rank with themselves, but instituted the orders of the Theatins and

Nerysts exclusively for the Brahman converts, who justified the privilege conferred on them by subsequently spreading the Catholic religion in Malabar, Ceylon, Madras and Madagascar, where no European had succeeded in preaching the gospel of Christ. The Brahman is a born missionary. He may be said to be literate from his infancy, while among the Portuguese there were and are many who did not know to read and write. He has persuasiveness and meekness—two qualities essential for the inculcation of religious doctrine—inherited from times far anterior to that of the gloomy prophet of the *Nirvāna*, the Indian sage of Kapilavastu. This true *dvija* or 'twice-born,' then, was a most welcome associate in the vineyard of the Lord, whose divine precepts extol meekness above all the Christian virtues. These missionaries, Brahman in blood but denationalized by the adoption of Portuguese nationality, also helped to spread the use of Portuguese in India and elsewhere, by preaching, by writing works in that language and translating them into Tamil, Sinhalese, Canarese, etc. The names of the most conspicuous among them are Vas, Rego, Miranda, Jacome Gonçalves, Ribeiro, Menezes, Barreto, Ferrão, and Saldanha.

Next to the colleges where secondary or superior education was imparted in Portuguese, Latin, Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Theology, each parish had a school of its own for elementary instruction. Prior to the advent of the Portuguese, each village community had its pagoda, dedicated to its *gramadevata*, and not seldom its *pathashala*. The Portuguese pulled down the Hindu temple and substituted his own, devoted to a saint or to the Virgin under several appellations, or to the Trinity. He instituted for each parish an annual feast of the saint. In a world where there is a prevailing feeling of weariness, and a tendency to confine the attention to the worst side of life, these religious anniversaries of saints were a boon to the Catholic community in India. And to keep alive the traditional love of the native for his *jāthra*, a fair was held in connection with each feast in the vicinity of the church. Then, in obedience to the decree of a Council of the Church that each parish should have a school, he built one where rudimentary Portuguese and music were taught. The greatest benefit that has accrued from these primary schools to the Indians who have frequented them, from the beginning of the 16th century to the present, is the cultivation of music. Art in any form demands imagination, sympathy and power of identification with other natures,

which the generous character of the Portuguese enabled them to teach to their Indian fellow-subjects, who had hardly any music of their own. A few grotesque *lavis* and the recitation of some vulgar and odd *abhangas* constitute even now the whole *repertorio* of the Hindus. The Christian converts had, on the contrary, instilled into them, with the love of music, the most spiritual of arts, the highest religious aspirations. They were taught the *Veni Creator, O salutaris Hostia, Ave Maris Stella, O Gloriosa Virginum*, and many other melodious hymns and songs in Latin and Portuguese, in which emotion finds its fullest expression, carrying him who listens to the very zenith of aspiration, and which seem to have the wonderful power to link the present with the past. Besides, the Portuguese *modinha, chacara* and *solio*, which are analogous in style to the Spanish *tango* and *cancion morisca* and the Napolitan *mandolinata* and *Santa Lucia*, have also influenced deeply the Indian popular *mandos*, and *zotis*. These parish schools are still flourishing in Portuguese India and in the missions of the "Padroado." But most of the colleges with their churches have become shapeless ruins. One can discern in the stones of the ruined buildings that still crowd the cities of Old Goa, Bassein, and Chaul, the pervading sentiment of the time in which they were built, and read more sermons in them than in text-books. What a fine place one of these dismantled towns would be for the erection of a sort of Grande Chartreuse, dedicated to the genius of solitude, a retreat from the importunate dissonances of life, inviting communion with things that are unseen, sacred, and eternal.

In my last excursion to the ruins of Chaul I discovered that the altar of a church, where once the holy sacrifice of Mass was celebrated, formed the pedestal for the hideous image of Hanuman. There was, besides, the aggravating circumstance of a Hindu villager with grim humour pointing out to me this irony of fate. One knows that political dominion is often precarious, that not a few invaders have come and gone, and India has become a natural ground for such ephemerides, but I did not expect to see such a desecration, this acme of profanation. It reminds me of what F. Harrison says:—"The whirligig of time verily brings about its revenges."

When one remembers the time when the Portuguese demolished the pagodas and broke their idols to pieces, it seems that the Hanuman of Chaul is pointing a moral and adorning a tale. This is one of the many evidences that show up the vanity of human power. I believe

there is no study where the grandeur and wild ambitions of the world are so thoroughly rebuked and dwarfed into littleness as that of the churches of these old Portuguese towns in the vicinity of our prosperous city. This may be the reason why historians, like astronomers, laugh at the fussiness of the world, and are less disturbed by worldly affairs and by the quarrels of vain and fatuous men.

The present condition of the Portuguese tongue in India is far from flattering. It is not understood by the peasants in any part of their small settlements, nor spoken habitually by the *bourgeoisie*. It is the official tongue, and spoken by the upper classes only, and is as much a vernacular in Goa and elsewhere as French is in Pondicherry or English in Bombay. In British India it is being rapidly supplanted by English. Besides, Portuguese is a difficult language, and there are but few in this country who can speak and write it correctly. And it is beautiful. The following opinion of one who knew it well is certainly worth quoting here: "Par sa grammaire et son vocabulaire, elle se rapproche du latin plus que toute autre langue méridionale. L'italien a plus de grâce, d'harmonie, de douceur; l'espagnol, plus de majesté et de pompe, le français, plus de clarté et de simplicité; mais le portugais est plus latin, et il ne cède à aucune autre langue pour la suavité, pour la force, et pour l'abondance. Il se prête également à la prose élégante, à la poésie sublime, aux sujets familiers et nobles, à la joie et à la douleur, à la gravité et à l'enthousiasme."

Although it has lost much in territorial extent, in the domain of literature Portuguese is the language of an autonomous and historic people, whose university is among the oldest in the world, for it was founded in Lisbon in 1290, and transferred to Coimbra in 1308. Its literature is both vast and rich. As early as the 13th century, at the dawn of the first spontaneous revival of letters since the fall of the Roman Empire, about two hundred years earlier than the great renaissance, Portugal, though a young kingdom, contributed its share to the general awakening of the literary spirit of the continent of Europe. King Dom Diniz wrote his *Cancioneiro*, which developed the Portuguese dialect into a beautiful and flexible literary language, while King Alfonso 'the wise' of Spain was writing his *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the poets of the north the *Nibelungen*, Petrarca his Italian *Canzoniere*, and the troubadours were laying the foundation of the national poetry of France. Then followed, somewhat later, Antonio Ferreira, Sá de Miranda, Bernardim Ribeiro and others, who, in spite of

their provincialisms, which we call nationality, deserve universal recognition. Its historical works are immense, out of all proportion, perhaps, to the size of the little kingdom. There are the old Chroniclers who told the story of the war against the Moors,—Ruy de Pina, Gracia de Rezende, Azurara, and Duarte Galvão; then, somewhat later, Barros, Couto, Freire, Correa, Goes, Castanheda, Osorio, Lucena and others. Under the influence of the German Historical School, of which the most illustrious masters were Niebuhr and von Ranke, Herculano, Correa da Serra, Viscount of Santarem, Rebello da Silva, Soriano and others have left us invaluable works. There are others of a younger generation who, taking their inspiration from the old writers, have become diligent seekers after truth from contemporary documents.

In other branches of literature there is a manifest tendency to surpass the activity of the neighbouring kingdom, in spite of its Alarcon, Valdès and Clarin. In poetry, drama and fiction there are more writers in Portugal than in Spain. Historical novels on the model of Sir Walter Scott have been in vogue for nearly half a century. The old pastoral novels, originated by Bernardim Ribeiro, purely national, exhibiting the love of nature, which is inherent in the Portuguese character, are now substituted by a new form initiated by Castello Branco. This is also national, as far as the portrayal of the intimate life of the Portuguese society and of the picturesque habits and customs of modern Portugal are concerned. The spirit of the romance of chivalry, of the type of *Amadis of Gaul* and of *Palmeirim of England*, once most popular throughout the peninsula, is now extinct or has been so, perhaps, from the time of Cervantes. An attempt has of late been made to introduce into the kingdom the realistic or psychological style, or *il romanzo sperimentale*, as Villari calls it, but it is too early to judge of its acceptance by the public. It is traced to the school of *L'Assommoir*, containing episodes relating to, in the words of the master, "l'ivrognerie et la fainéantise, le relâche des liens de famille, les ordures de la promiscuité, l'oubli progressif des sentiments honnêtes." This pornographic literature delights now millions of readers in the progressive West; but in this our benighted East, where there is evidently more decorum, it cannot but meet with disfavour, notwithstanding its advocates calling it "the epic in prose," most suitable to democratic times and manners.

A comparison, or rather a parallel, has been instituted of late between the Colonial policies of Spain and Portugal. It is true that historical

parallels cannot be exact in all details ; they often accentuate the points of difference, and many of their illustrations are by contrast rather than by resemblance. Thus while the Portuguese only possessed settlements, which easily changed hands, the Spaniards owned vast countries which could not be attacked, much less occupied ; they could only change the form of government, declare their independence, and then fight among themselves. The vast extent of the Portuguese dominions, scattered over four thousand leagues of coast, with only a chain of factories and forts to bind them together, offered a tempting prize, and when a determined rival appeared on the scene, the links gave way, while the Spanish empire being compact resisted like an adamant. Many writers seem to be fond of speculating on the causes of the decay of the Portuguese in India. But disintegrating agencies are more or less in operation among all nations, just as, according to the Burial Service, "In the midst of life we are in death." In historical creations there is no such thing as birth and growth—only decay and death ; in the midst of great or apparent splendour there is necessarily no prosperity, but germs of decadence and symptoms of dissolution.

The Portuguese exhibited signs of decay long ago, and the only individual who still strives to keep up the traditions of that nation in this country against all odds is the missionary. He lives, from Bengal to Cape Comorin, among the people, he adapts himself to their environments, and instils among them his æsthetic perceptions and his intellectual sympathies, however humble and limited these may be ; the sobriety of his mind is always useful in a medium, where the low-class Hindus, like the *Meridionales* of Alphonse Daudet, delight themselves with the strain of excessiveness, the humour of enormity, and the instinct of the gigantic and the abnormal, which Christianity has the power to correct.

IV.

I shall conclude by an allusion to the late debate, transferred from the arena of the Senate-hall to that of the Press and elsewhere, on the merits of the new scheme of the Bombay University for remodelling the course of the study of languages, classical, foreign and vernacular,—a debate which led me to consult the last University Calendar. The result was the discovery of the striking anomaly that, while Portuguese is at page 37 classed with the living vernaculars—Marathi, Gujarati, Canarese, &c.,—French is at page 57 ranked with the dead Sanskrit, Greek,

Latin and Hebrew. This classification is evidently, to borrow Prof. Max Müller's phrase, "a Babylonian confusion of tongues." It means, in short, that Sá de Miranda, Camoens, Almeida Garrett and Castilho are in the same category as Namdev, Tukaram, Waman and Samalabhat; while Corneille, Racine, Molière, Lamartine and Victor Hugo are to be studied in the same spirit as Euripides and Sophocles, Terence and Virgil, or Kálidásá and Bhāvabhúti.

If the University of Bombay will retain Portuguese on its list of second languages, it is necessary to introduce reforms in both the teaching and examining methods, and in the selection of men of academic position and of wide culture for its executive body. I know that wide culture is rare everywhere, especially in a commercial city like Bombay, where the almighty rupee possesses greater merit and carries more weight than either learning or virtue. But one must know something of everything in order that he may know everything of something. We want men not of brilliant parts, but of general reading,—men, not without a department of their own, but with the scholarship and all-round ability which can appreciate the languages and literatures of various nations. The Senate is in the habit of choosing for Syndics some estimable men, about half of whom are natives, who do not, as a rule, know a single European language with the exception of English.

It is obvious that men who are utterly incompetent even to distinguish Bocage from Schiller, and Ariosto from Calderon, as I have often noticed, cannot be fit to select examiners in living European languages from their own knowledge of their merit, and have no alternative but to yield to the pressure brought to bear upon them of recommendations and solicitations. This surely cannot be a desirable state of things. And, lastly, if the Portuguese language is not to take its proper place by the side of its European sisters, if it is to be depressed to the level of the Indian Vernaculars, it would be much better to abolish it altogether as a second language in the University examination. An honourable death is far preferable to an ignominious life, which is but a parody of the noble motto of king Dom Sebastian:—

"Un bel morir tutta la vita honora."

ART. XIV.—*The Divine Comedy of Dante and the Virâf-nâmeḥ of Ardâi Virâf*—By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

[Road, 26th February 1892.]

This paper is intended to give a few points of striking resemblance between Dante's account of his visit to the other world as given in his Divine Comedy and that of the visit of the Persian Dastur Ardâi Virâf as given in the Pehelvi Virâf-nâmeḥ.

The circumstances under which Dante wrote his Divine Comedy are well-known to many. Therefore, I will not dwell upon them here but proceed to describe the circumstances under which Ardâi Virâf is said to have made his pilgrimage to the other world.

According to the three introductory chapters of Virâf-nâmeḥ, after the overthrow of the ancient Irânian monarchy by Alexander the Great, there was a good deal of disorder and scepticism in Irân. This was the result, it is said, of the foolish conduct of Alexander who burnt the religious literature of the country and put to death many of its spiritual and temporal leaders. Alexander is, therefore, spoken of in the Pehelvi book in question as the "gazaçtê Alexieder," i.e., the cursed Alexander. This state of disorder and scepticism continued with some short intervals, for a very long time. At last, in order to put an end to this state of affairs, a few religious and god-fearing men met together in the great fire-temple of Âtash Farobâ, somewhere in the district of Cabul. They discussed the question very freely, and unanimously came to the conclusion that they must take some measures to put an end to that state of disorder in matters of religion. They

said: "Some one of us must go to, and bring intelligence direct from, Divine Intelligence." They resolved upon calling a general meeting of the people to elect a properly qualified person for the divine mission. The people met and selected, from among themselves, seven men, who, on account of their great piety and on account of the purity of their thoughts, words, and deeds, were best qualified for divine meditation. These seven then selected from among themselves the three best, who again, in their turn, selected from among themselves one by name Ardâi Virâf who belonged to the town of Nishâpur. Virâf, before submitting to this selection of himself, wished to ascertain what the sacred divination was about his election. As in the choice of Mathias, as the last Apostle, he desired to determine by lot the sacred divination. He said: "If you like, draw lots for the (other) Mazdayasnâns and myself. If the lot falls to me, I shall go with pleasure to that abode of the pious and the wicked, and I will carry faithfully this message and bring a reply truthfully." The lots were drawn thrice and they fell to Virâf. Virâf then retired to a quiet place, washed himself, put on a new clean set of clothes and said his prayers. He then drank three cups of a sacred somniferous drink in token of "Hûmata, Hûkhta and Hvarshta," i.e., good thoughts, good words and good deeds. The somniferous drink and the deep and divine meditation soon threw him into an unusually long sleep which lasted for seven days and nights. The place of his retreat was guarded from interference by several pious men. Virâf rose from this meditative sleep at the end of the seventh day, and then described to his anxious hearers his vision of his visit to the other world.

We are not in a position to fix the exact date when Virâf lived, but this much can be said with certainty that he lived at some period between the reign of Shapur II. and the Arab Conquest, i.e., between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the seventh.

From a literary point of view, there can be no comparison between the Divine Comedy and the Virâf-nâme. * Dante's work is considered to be a masterpiece of Italian poetry. Virâf-nâme has no claim to any literary excellence. In the Divine Comedy it is the heavenly pilgrim himself, who records the vision of his imaginary visit to the next world in his best poetic style. The Virâf-nâme, though it describes the vision in the words of the pilgrim himself, is the work of somebody else, who narrates in simple prose what he supposes to be a great event in the religious history of the country.

The arrangement in the description of their respective visions is well nigh the same. Both the pilgrims at first make their own observations on what they see in their heavenly journey. They then put questions to their guides asking information on what they see, and the guides give an explanation. The questions of Virâf to his guides have, in many cases, assumed a stereotyped form. For example, his question to his guides in his visit of Hell is the same. "Denman tan meman vanâs kard mûn rôbân avin pâdafarâs îdrûnet," i.e., "What sin has this body, whose soul meets with such a punishment, committed?" The questions of Dante are variegated.

The times when both Virâf and Dante wrote were times of great disorder in their respective countries of Irân and Italy. It was religious disorder, which followed the change of dynasties, that led to the vision of Virâf. It was political disorder, which had its reflex in the spiritual life of the country, that influenced the strains of the Italian poet. We have referred above to the religious disorder in Persia at the time when Virâf lived. We will describe here in the words of Mr. Herbert Baynes the state of Italy at the time when Dante wrote.

"The Church and the world were at open warfare, so that society was split into at least two factions, the Papal adherents and the Imperialists . . . The chaos of outer relations had its reflex in the spiritual life of those times . . . Society had lost its ideals. Righteousness had given place to expediency. Hence the prophet of his age had to sing to eager listeners a message of awful grandeur of life-long significance. He could not but show them the Hell in which they were living, the Purgatory, through which, as he believed, it was possible for them to go in order that, by repentance, they might reach the Paradise prepared for the redeemed."*

Now coming to the subject proper of our paper we find that both Virâf and Dante undertook their heavenly pilgrimages after great hesitation, and after great many doubts about their fitness for such a great work. As we saw before, Virâf, before submitting to his selection, wished to ascertain what the sacred divination about his selection was. It was only after determining by lots that he undertook the divine mission (Ch. I.) †. In the case of Dante also we find

* *Dante and his Ideal*, pp. 11-14.

† The numbers of the chapters are according to Dr. Haug's text.

a similar expression of doubts about his fitness for the great mission. When Virgil offers to take him to the other world he says :—

“ Test well my courage, see if it avail,
Ere to that high task I am sent by thee.

But why should I go? Who will this concede?
I nor Æneas am, nor yet am Paul;
Worthy of that nor I myself indeed,
Nor others deem me. Wherefore, to this call
If now I yield, I fear me lest it be
A journey vain.

(*Hell*, C. II., 11-36.)*

Both Dante and Virâf make their heavenly pilgrimages when in the grasp of profound slumber. Virâf's sleep lasted for seven days and nights. Dante does not tell us for how many days did his vision last. He merely says that he was sleep-opprest.

“ How I there entered, can I not well say,
So sleep-opprest was I in that same hour
When from the true path thus I went astray.”

(*Hell*, C. I., 10-12.)

Both went through all these parts of the other world, but the order of their visits to these parts is a little different. Virâf first went to the Hamistagân which corresponds to the Christian Purgatory, and then to Paradise, and lastly to Hell. Dante first went to Hell, then to Purgatory, and lastly to Paradise.

Both had two persons as their guides. Virâf had for his guides Sraosh, the messenger of God, and Âtar the angel presiding over fire. Dante had Virgil and Beatrice for his guides. Sraosh and Âtar accompanied Virâf through all the three regions, but Virgil accompanied Dante to Hell and Purgatory and Beatrice to Paradise. The guides of Virâf offer their kind services to him in the following words (Ch. V.): “ Come on, we will show you Heaven and Hell, and the light and splendour, rest and comfort, pleasure and cheerfulness, delight and joy, and fragrance that are the reward the righteous people receive in Heaven. We will show you darkness and distress, misery and misfortune, pain and grief, disease and sickness, terror and fright, torture and stench, that are the punishments of various kinds which

* I have followed Dr. Plumptre's translation in these quotations from Dante.

the evil-doers, sorcerers and sinful men undergo in Hell. We will show you the place of the righteous and that of the unrighteous. We will show you the reward of those who have good faith in God and Archangels, and the good and evil which are in Heaven and Hell." Compare with this the words of Dante's guide, Virgil, with which he offers to be the leader of Dante in Hell.

"Wherefore for thee I think and judge 'tis well
That thou should'st follow, I thy leader be,
And guide thee hence to that eternal cell,
Where thou shalt hear sharp wails of misery,
Shalt see the ancient spirits in their pain,
For which, as being the second death, men cry :
Those thou shalt see who, in the hope to gain,
When the hour comes, the blest ones' happier clime
Can bear the torturing fire not yet complain.
To these would'st thou with eager footsteps climb,
A soul shall guide thee worthier far than I."

(*Hell*, C. I., 112-122.)

Both Virâf and Dante find in their guides one who feels offended by their past conduct and who, before leading them forward in their heavenly journey, taunts them for their past offensive deeds. Âtar, the guide of Virâf taunts him for neglecting, and not taking proper care of fire over which he presides (Ch. X.). Beatrice, the guide of Dante, taunts him for neglecting her and not keeping her memory green. (*Purg.*, C. XXX., 121.)

Three steps led Virâf to the top of the Chinvat Bridge,* where the departed souls part, to go to their respective destinations of Heaven, Hell and Hamistagân. Three steps led Dante to the portal of the Purgatory. (*Purg.*, C. IX., 93, Virâf Ch. IV.) The three steps which Dante had to pass over were made of polished marble, rugged stone and fiery porphyry, which symbolized the three elements of penitence, viz., contrition, confession and satisfaction. The three steps of Virâf were those of "humata, hukhta and hvarshta," i.e., good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

The guides of Virâf welcomed him, and taking hold of his hand led him on for the three steps. So did the guide of Dante.

* The Chinvat Bridge of Virâf corresponds to the Sirat of the Mahomedans, the Wogho of the Chinese, and the Giöföll and Bifröst of the Scandinavians.

“O’er the three steps my Guide then led me on
With all good will.”

It is over this Chinvat Bridge, that according to Virâf, Mithra, the judge, holds his court, and judging the actions of the departed souls, sends them to Heaven, Hell or Hamistagân. Dante gives to his judge Minos a seat in the second circle of Hell. Dante’s Minos only judges the souls of wicked persons. This bridge which leads to the Hamistagân is situated on the top of a mountain. We find Dante’s Purgatory also situated on a mountain. (*Purg.*, C. III., 3, 6, 14.)

According to both the pilgrims, the utmost punishment that the souls there suffer are the extremes of temperature, nothing else. The guides of Virâf, speaking to him on this subject, say: “Their punishment is cold and heat (resulting) from the movement of the atmosphere and no other evil (Ch. VI.). The guide of Dante says to him:—

“To suffer freezing cold and torturing blaze
Bodies like this doth Power Supreme ordain
Which wills to veil from us His work and ways.”

(*Purg.*, C. III, 31—33.)

Both go direct from the Purgatory to their first Heaven. The heavens of both Dante and Virâf receive their names from the heavenly bodies though their numbers differ. Virâf has four heavens. Dante has ten. The heavens of Virâf are Setar-pâyâ (*i. e.*, of the star pathway), Mâhâ-pâyâ (of the moon pathway), Khorshed-pâyâ (of the sun pathway), and Garotmân. Dante has the following ten heavens—the heavens of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Fixed Stars, the Primum Mobile, and the Empyrean.

The last Heaven of Dante is the seat of the Almighty God, just as Garotmân, the last Heaven of Virâf, is the seat of Ahura Mazda. Dante saw the divine presence of God in a brilliant point:—

“I saw a point so radiant appear,
So keenly bright, it needs must be the eye
Should shrink and close before its brightness clear.”

(*Parad* XXVIII., 16-18.)

Virâf also hears His voice and sees Him in a light. (Ch. CI., 11.)

Both see in Paradise the departed illustrious men of their respective countries. Dante sees there men like Thomas of Aquinas, Albert of Cologne, and Charles Martel. Virâf sees men like Zoroaster, King Vishtâsp, Frashaoaster and Jâmâsp. Both see in Paradise the first father

of man. Dante sees and converses with the soul of Adam. Virâf sees the *farohar* or the spirit of Gayomard, the Zoroastrian Adam.

Both have the grades of their heavens rising in importance in proportion to the meritoriousness of their acts. Virâf reserves the higher heavens for the good and just rulers of the land, for devout worshippers, warriors who fight for a just cause, men who destroy noxious creatures that do great harm to mankind, men who add to the prosperity of their country by irrigation and fresh plantations, and women who are possessed of good thoughts, good words and good deeds and who are obedient to their husbands. Dante sees in his higher heavens theologians, martyrs who have met with death while fighting for a good cause, righteous kings, and men who are devoted to pious contemplation.

Both see in Paradise the souls of the pious and the virtuous in brilliant glory. Virâf saw the "Light which is called the highest of the high." "I saw," says he, "the pious on thrones of gold and in gold embroidered clothes. They were men whose brightness was the same as the brightness of the sun (Ch. IX., 4)." Compare with this that which Dante saw in the highest of the highest heavens:—

"Their faces had they all of living flame,
Their wings of gold and all the rest was white,
That snow is none such purity could claim."

(*Parad.*, XXXI., 13-15.)

Both are rewarded in Heaven for their sacred pilgrimage. St. Bernard asks for salvation on behalf of Dante from the Blessed Virgin:—

"He who stands here, who, from the lowest pit
Of all creation, to this point hath pass'd
The lines of spirits, each in order fit,
On thee for grace of strength himself doth cast,
So that he may his eyes in vision raise
Upwards to that Salvation noblest, last."

(*Parad.*, C. XXXIII., 22-27.)

Compare with this the words in which Virâf is offered immortality by the souls of the departed virtuous who welcome him to Paradise: "O Holy one, how hast thou come from that perishable world of troubles to this imperishable world free from troubles. Taste immortality, for here you will find eternal pleasure (Ch. VIII.).

St. Bernard, who had, during the last part of Dante's journey to Paradise, taken the place of Beatrice, takes Dante at the end of his journey to the Blessed Virgin. Sraosh and Âtar, the guides of Virâf, take him to the seat of the Almighty.

Both have to communicate their heavenly experiences. At the end of his journey, Dante prays for strength and power to communicate to men what he saw in his heavenly tour :—

“ Oh Light Supreme, that dwellest far away
 From mortal thoughts, grant Thou this soul of mine
 Some scant revival of that great display,
 And to my tongue give Thou such strength divine,
 That of Thy glory at the least one beam
 May to the race to come in beauty shine.”

(*Parad.*, XXXIII., 67-72.)

At the end of Virâf's journey, Ahura Mazda asks him to communicate to his countrymen what he saw in the other world. Ahura Mazda says: “ O 'pious Ardâi Virâf, messenger of the Mazdayaçnâns thou art a good servant ; return to the material world. Tell exactly to the world what thou hast seen and learnt. I, Ahura Mazda, am with thee. Say to the wise that I recognize and know everyone who speaks the truth ” (Ch. CL). Then with regard to the particular errand for which Ardâi Virâf had made his pilgrimage to the next world, he sends the following message through him to his co-religionists. “ O Ardâi Virâf, say to the Mazdayaçnâns of the other world that the way of piety is the only way and that is the way of those of the primitive faith. The other ways are not the proper ways. Follow only that path of piety. Turn not from that path in prosperity or adversity or under any circumstances. Follow good thoughts, good words and good deeds. Continue in the same religion which Zoroaster has received from me and which Vishtâsp has promulgated in the world. Follow the just law and keep away from the unjust one. Bear this in mind that the cattle will be reduced to dust, the horses will be reduced to dust, the gold and silver will be reduced to dust, and the body of man will be reduced to dust, but he alone will not be reduced to dust who praises piety and performs meritorious deeds in this world.”

Having spoken of a few points of similarity in the Persian and Italian pilgrims' visions of Heaven we will now speak of Hell.

Before entering into Hell, both come across words which give them an idea of the hopelessly miserable condition of the place. Dante reads those words on the gate of Hell; Virāf hears them from his guides as the utterance of a sinful soul that has just entered into Hell. The characteristic words of despair which Dante reads are : " Ye that pass in, all hope abandon ye " (*Hell*, C. III., 9). Those which Virāf hears are : " Val kudām zamīk vazrūnan va-mūn pavan panāh vakhdūnam ? " i. e., " To which land shall I go ? Whose protection shall I take ? "

On entering into Hell the guides of both the pilgrims hold them by their hands to give them courage and carry them in safety. Virāf says : " Sraosh and Âtar caught hold of my hand so that I went on without any danger " (Ch. XVII., 1, 2). Dante says :—

" Then me, his hand firm clasped in mine, he brought,
With joyful face that gave me comfort great."

(*Hell*, C. III., 19.)

Both find their hells in the form of an abyss immeasurably deep. Virāf found it like a " pit whose bottom would not be reached by 1,000 cubits. And even if all the wood in the world were put on fire in the most stinking and darkest Hell, it would not give out any smell. And although the souls of the sinful there, are as close to one another as the ear is to the eye, and although they are as many in number as the hair on the mane of a horse, they do not see, nor hear the sound from, one another. Everyone thinks that he is alone " (Ch. LIV. 3—8)., Dante describes the depth of his Hell in a similar tone :—

" And with mine eyes thus rested, I to see
Turned me, stood up, and steadfast gazed around,
To know the region where I chanced to be.
In very deed upon the brink I found
Myself, of that abyss of direst woe,
Where thunders roar, of groans that know no bound
Dark was it, deep, o'erclouded, so below,
That though I sought its depths to penetrate,
Nought to mine eyes its form did clearly show."

(*Hell*, C. IV., 4—12).

Both have to cross a river, and that a large river before they go further into hell. The river of Virâf was formed by the great number of tears shed after the death of a person. The guides ask Virâf to advise the people of the world not to lament too much for the death of a departed soul, but to submit to it patiently as to a command from God. Mark again that the river spoken of by Dante is Acheron, and is also, as Dr. Plumptre says, "the stream of lamentations."

Both find a number of souls waiting on the other side of the river. Virâf says, "I saw a large river as dark as the gloomy Hell. There were many souls and spirits on that river."

Both ask their guides as to what those rivers are, and what the souls waiting on their shores. Virâf asked, "What is this river, and who are these people that are waiting in a distressed mood?" (Ch. XVI.) This was what Virâf saw and said before he entered into the portals of hell. Compare with this what Dante saw before he entered into the first circle of hell:—

"And when I further looked on that drear seat,
On a great river's bank a troop I saw,
Wherefore I said "O Master, I entreat
That I may know who these are, what the law,
Which makes them seem so eager to pass o'er;
As through the dim light they my notice draw."

(*Hell*, C. III., 70—75.)

Dante's guide replies:—

"My son,

Those who beneath the wrath of God have died,
From all lands gather to region dark,
And eager are to pass across the tide."

(*Hell*, C. III., 121—124.)

Both divide their hells in a number of parts, and both see, the last of all, in the deepest hell, Satan, the author of Evil. Dante sees Lucifer in Guidecca, the last of the four concentric circles of the tenth circle. Virâf sees Gunâk-Mino in the last of the different parts of hell.

On entering into the place of the wicked ones, Virâf found a cold wind blowing. A more striking wind than that he had never

seen in the world. Compare with this what Dante says of the cold in that part of hell where he saw Lucifer :

“ How icy cold I then became and numb,
Ask it not, Reader, for I cannot write,
All language would be weak that dread to sum.”

(*Hell*, C. XXXIV., 22—25.)

When Virâf goes near Satan, he hears him taunting the sinful souls that had fallen victims to his evil machinations, in the following words:—“Why were you eating the food supplied to you by God and doing my work? You did not think of your Creator, but acted according to my dictates.” Dante sees Lucifer punish Judas, Brutus, and Cassius, who, following his evil temptations, had turned out great traitors.

Though most of the punishments in the hell of Virâf are Persian in their character, and those in the hell of Dante are retributive, according to the notions of the mediæval theology of Europe, there are a few that are common in the visions of both. For example, serpents play a prominent part in the punishments of both. The seventh Bolgia in the hell of Dante, where robbers are punished, is the Bolgia of serpents. According to Virâf, unnatural lust, oppressive and tyrannical misrule, adultery, misappropriation of religious property and endowments, and falsehood are visited with punishments by the sting of dreaded and terrible snakes.

Again, the eating of human skulls and brains is a punishment common to the hells of both the pilgrims. According to Virâf, fraudulent traders who used false measures and weights were made to eat human brains and blood (Ch. LXXX.). So were men, who had got rich by dishonest means and by stealing the property of others, punished in hell by being made to eat human skulls and brains (Ch. XLVI.). An unjust judge, who gave his decisions under the influence of bribes, is made to slay in hell his own children and eat their brains (Ch. XCI.). In Dante we find a victim punish his offender by eating his head and brains. We find that Count Ugolino, who was put into prison on the strength of false accusations of Archbishop Ruggieri, and was there compelled by the pangs of starvation to eat the flesh of his own children, punishes his calumniator Ruggieri in hell by eating his head and brains (*Hell*, XXXIII.).

The seizing and tearing and flaying of the souls of the sinful by

ferocious animals is also a common punishment in the hells of Virâf and Dante. It is the fierce Cerberus that does all these in the hell of Dante (C. VI., 12-18). It is the Kharfastars (*i.e.*, the noxious animals), the smaller ones of which are as high as mountains, that do all these and annoy the souls of the sinful in the hell of Virâf (Ch. XVIII.).

The suspending of sinful persons with their heads downwards is another punishment common to both (Hell, C. XIX., 22; XXXIV., 14; Virâf, Ch. LXIX., LXXIV., LXXIX., LXXX., LXXXVIII.). In Virâf's vision, it is the dishonest judges and traders and seducers that suffer this punishment. In the vision of Dante it is the Simonists that suffer it.

Another punishment common to the visions of both is that of covering the bodies of sinners with heavy metals. According to Virâf, a faithless wife meets the punishment of having her body covered over with heavy iron (Ch. LXXXV.). According to Dante, a heavy mantle of lead is the punishment that a hypocrite meets with in the sixth part of the eighth circle of hell.

The twisting of the different parts of the body is another punishment common to the hells of both. In the eighth circle of Dante's hell it is the soothsayers that meet with this punishment. In Virâf's hell it is the cruel masters who exact too much work from their beasts of burden without giving them adequate food that meet with this punishment (Ch. LXXVII.).

Again, heavy rain and snow, hail stones, severe cold, and foul smells are punishments common to the hell of both the pilgrims. According to Dante, it is a glutton who meets with the punishment of being pelted with rain (C. VI., 53, 54). According to Virâf, those who demolish bridges over rivers, those who are irreverent, those who speak an untruth and perjure themselves, and those who are greedy, avaricious, lusty and jealous, meet with these punishments (Ch. LV.).

Virâf gives a general picture of hell in the following words (Ch. XVIII.):—

"I felt cold and heat, dryness and stench to such an extent as I never saw in the world nor heard of. When I proceeded further, I saw the voracious abyss of hell, like a dangerous pit leading to a very narrow and horrible place, so dark that one must hold (another) by the hand, and so full of stench that anybody who inhales the air by the nose struggles, trembles and falls . . . The noxious creatures tear and seize and annoy the souls of the wicked in the hell in a way that would be unworthy of a dog."

Compare with this Dante's description of the third circle of hell (c. vi., 7—15):—

“—eterne, curst, cold, and working woe,
Its law and state unchanged from first to last ;
Huge hail, dark water, whirling clouds of snow
There through the murky air come sweeping on ;
Foul smells the earth which drink this in below,
And Cerberus, fierce beast, like whom is none,
Barks like a dog from out his triple jaws
At all the tribes those waters close upon.”

Adultery, cheating, misrule, slander, avarice, lying, apostasy, fraud, seduction, pederasty, sorcery, murder, theft, rebellion and such other moral sins are seen by both the pilgrims as punished in hell.

Now the question remains, what is the origin of these two visions ? Though the date of Virâf is older than that of Dante, the visions of both seem to come directly from different parents. Though there are many points of resemblance between the two, yet the vision of Virâf is thoroughly Zoroastrian, and that of Dante thoroughly Christian. Their different parents may have a common ancestor of whom little is known, but there seems to be no direct relation between the two. It is not our province to speak here on the source or sources from which Dante directly drew his visions. As to the visions of Virâf, though a great part of the details is original, the main features about the destiny of the soul in the other world have their origin in the *Avesta*. The fifth and the seven teenth chapters of the *Virâf-nâmeh* are, as it were, a clear and amplified version of a portion of the 19th chapter of the *Vendidad*. These chapters are based on the very doctrine of the future destiny of the soul after death as believed by the ancient Zoroastrians.

The visions of Virâf were made known to the European world of letters by the English translation of Mr. J. A. Pope in 1818. This was an imperfect translation, not of our Pehelvi Virâf-nâmeh, but of a Persian version of it which was to a certain extent mutilated by some foreign elements. This imperfect translation of the Persian mutilated version led some to believe that the visions of Virâf were derived from the Christian source of Isaiah's Ascent. But the late Dr. Haug, who was the first to write upon this subject, and whose learned presence in our midst as the Professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, had

greatly helped and encouraged Iranian studies, has clearly shown that this was not the case. M. Barthélemy, in his excellent translation (*Livre d'Ardâ Virâf*), wherein he has dwelt upon some of these striking points of resemblance, agrees with Dr. Haug and says, "Rien ne justifie les tentative faites pour montrer que les visions de l'Arda Virâf dérivent de celles contenues dans l'Ascension du prophète Isaïe, car elles n'ont entre elles aucune relation historique."

ART. XV.—*The so-called Pehelvi Origin of the Sindibâd-nâmeḥ or the Story of the Seven Wise Masters.*—By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

[Read 28th June 1892.]

Like the story of Kalila and Damna, known in Europe as the "Fables of Bidpâi," the story of the Sindibâd-nâmeḥ, known in Europe as the "Story of the Seven Wise Masters," has gone through several versions both in the East and in the West. Mr. W. A. Clouston, in the *Athenæum* of 12th September 1891, says that all these different versions have a common origin, and that they also, like the story of Kalila and Damna, come from the Pehelvi, through an Arabic version now lost.

Mr. Clouston has given an epitome of this story of Sindibâd in his *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Vol. I.). Professor Forbes Falconer has published an "Analytical Account of the Sindibâd-nâmeḥ" in Vols. XXXV. and XXXVI. (new series) of the *Asiatic Journal* (1841). We find the story reproduced by the pen of Mr. A. Rogers in the January number of this year of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. Mr. Clouston has also published a separate book on the subject of the Sindibâd-nâmeḥ, which, being "privately printed," is not available.

The object of this paper is to show that, if, as Mr. Clouston says, Pehelvi is the origin of this wide-spread story of "The King, the Damsel and the Prince," it is the old Persian story of 'Kâus, Soudâbeh and Siâvash, that has given rise to it. In the Pehelvi literature now extant, we find no story of the kind, but we find a trace of it in the Shah-nâmeḥ of Firdousi, who, let it be remembered, has collected, as he himself says in the preface of his great epic, the materials of his poem from a Pehelvi work.*

بشهرم یکی مهربان دوست بود. . تو گفتی که با من یکی دوست بود *
مرا گفت خوب آمد این رای تو. . به نیکی گواید همی پای تو
نیشتر من. این نامه پهاوی. . به پیش تو آرم مگر نغوی
گشاده زبان و جوانیت هست. . سخن گفتن پهلوانیت هست
تو این نامه خسروان باز گوی. . بدین جوی نزد مهان آبروی
چو آورد این نامه نزدیک من. . بر افروخت این جان تاریک من

Vuller, I., lines 164-169.

Before giving Firdousi's version of the story, I will give here for * comparison the Sindibâd-nâme story as given by Mr. A. Rogers :—

"An Indian King, by name Gardis, was, for a long time, childless, but by dint of fasting and prayer, at length, obtained a son, who was destined, according to the horoscope cast at his birth, to pass through a great misfortune and become famous in his age. Great care was taken with the young prince's education, but for some years to no purpose, until he was placed by the king, on the advice of his seven *vazirs* or ministers, in the charge of a learned man of the name of Sindibâd. Under this person's tuition, the prince, in six months, became a model of learning and wisdom, and was about to be presented to his father under this more favourable aspect, when the time for undergoing the calamity, predicted at his birth, arrived. He was warned by his preceptor accordingly, that, in order to counteract the evil fate that was lying in wait for him, he must be silent for seven days whatever the king might say or do to him

One of the king's wives, who had fallen in love with the prince, begs the king's permission to take his son into the private apartments, on the pretence that she might extort from him the secret of his remaining silent. Leave is given, and she takes the opportunity to declare her passion to the prince, and offers to raise him to the throne by poisoning his father. The offer being indignantly refused, the woman, afraid of the possible consequences when the prince was allowed to speak again, determines to be beforehand with him, and, rushing into the king's presence, accuses the prince of making improper proposals to her and threatening his father's life. Shocked at the revelation which he fully believes, the king sends for the executioner and orders the prince's execution

The king's *vazirs*, hearing of the king's order, hold a consultation, and determine to prevent its being carried out by one of their number going to their master on each of the seven days for which silence has been imposed on the prince, until the latter may be at liberty to defend himself, and relating tales to the king to expose the deceitfulness and viles of women. Then commences the struggle between the *vazirs* and the desperate woman, the king on each day putting off the prince's execution in consequence of the impression made on his mind by the *vazirs'* stories, and the next day reiterating his order for his son's death on the tears and entreaties of his treacherous wife. The former, however, manages to tide over the seven days of

silence; and finally the prince, allowed to speak for himself, turns the tables on his wicked step-mother, and turns out a model of wisdom and excellence."

Now the episode in Firdousi's Shâh-nâme, to which I think this story of Sindibâd is similar in its main features, though not in some of its details, which, I think, are added and worked out in the subsequent versions, runs as follows :—

Kâus, the king of Irân, had a prince by name Siâvash, who was as beautiful as a fairy. He thanked God very much for the birth of this son, but those who calculated the movements of the heavens found that the stars were hostile to this infant. They revealed this to the king and advised him on the matter. Rustam, who was a general of the king, took the prince under his protection and instruction. He took the prince to Zaboulistân, and brought him up in a manly way as befitted a king's son. He taught him the arts of war and chase, and the ways of ruling justly. He taught him all the virtues, and in short made him one who had none as his equal in the world. Then, at the special desire of the prince, Rustam took him to the royal court, where he was enthusiastically received by King Kâus and his courtiers. The festivities in honour of the prince continued for seven days. The prince thus lived in ease at the court of his royal father for seven years, during which period Soudâbeh, the step-mother of the prince fell in love with him, and, under the pretence of affection for the boy as a mother and of a desire to entertain him and to give him presents, requested the king to send Siâvash to the apartments of women. At the desire of the king, Siâvash paid three visits to the ladies' apartments. The queen made improper proposals to him, and he left her rooms indignantly. Soudâbeh being afraid of the consequences, if the prince complained of her conduct, tore off her clothes and raised an alarm. Kâus went to her apartments, where she complained of Siâvash having tried to commit violence upon her. The king said to himself: "If all this is true I will cut off the head of Siâvash." He then sent for Siâvash, who stated all the facts. The queen accused him of falsehood, and said that he had gone to such an extent of violence that *eniente* as she was she expected a miscarriage. The king found that Soudâbeh had all kinds of strong perfumes and scents over her clothes and body. Then calling Siâvash by his side he did not find over his body any trace of those scents and perfumes which, he said, would have been found over his body had he committed any

violence upon the body of Soudâbeh as alleged. Thus he found the prince innocent. Soudâbeh then tried other means to move the feelings of king Kâus in her favour and against the prince. She, by means of some drugs, made a maid-servant who was *enceinte* miscarry. The maid gave birth to two still-born infants. Soudâbeh then pretended that it was she herself who had given birth to the still-born infants, and raised a cry of grief and sorrow. The king being attracted to her apartments, she reminded him of her former complaint, viz., that she expected a miscarriage from the violence of Siâvash. This made the king again suspicious about the conduct of Siâvash. He called the sages, who knew the stars, before him, and asked them to find out the secret. They consulted the stars for seven consecutive nights and traced out the truth. The woman, who was the real mother of the still-born infants, was arrested, but she denied any knowledge of the matter. The king called Soudâbeh in the presence of the sages. She accused them of being partial to the prince who was supposed to be very powerful. She then wept and cried bitterly. This affected the heart of the king, and he again became suspicious about the whole affair. He then called an assembly of the Mobeds of his court, and submitted the whole matter before them for advice. They advised the king to try the case by the ordeal of fire. Soudâbeh, the queen, being asked to go through the ordeal, said that she had showed her innocence by presenting before the king the two infants that were born dead through the miscarriage caused by the violence of Siâvash, and that, therefore, it was the duty of the latter to prove his innocence by going through the ordeal. Siâvash went through it unhurt and proved his innocence. The king, thereupon, condemned the queen to death and sentenced her to be hanged. But then Siâvash interfered on her behalf and persuaded the king to forgive her.

This then is the story of the Shâh-nâmeh which resembles that of the Sindibâd-nâmeh. We will here enumerate the points of striking resemblance between these two stories:— *

1. The son of the Indian King Gardis was destined, according to his horoscope, to pass a life of misfortune. So was Siâvash, the son of the Irânian king Kâus, destined, according to the astrologers, to pass a life of misery.

2. As the Indian prince was entrusted to Sindibâd to be trained and educated, so was the Irânian prince Siâvash entrusted to Rustam.

3. The Indian queen, who had fallen in love with the young prince,

asked the king to send him to her apartments on the pretence that she might extort from him the secret of his observing silence. According to the Shâh-nâmeh, the Irânian queen Soudâbeh asked Kâus to send Siâvash to the private apartments of women on the pretence of entertaining him and presenting him with gifts, and of making him choose a partner for life.

4. The Indian king grants permission to the queen to take the prince into the ladies' apartments. There the queen reveals her love to the prince, and offers, if he returned her love, to raise him to the throne by poisoning the king. The Irânian king, according to the Shâh-nâmeh, also grants permission to Soudâbeh to take Siâvash to the ladies' apartment where she reveals her love to him, and promises, if he returned her love, to give him crowns and thrones, and threatens, in case he did not return her love, to deprive him of the throne and to ruin him.

5. On the Indian prince refusing the offer with indignation, the queen raises an alarm and accuses the prince before the king of improper offers. We find the same in the case of the Irânian prince.

6. The seven *vazirs* of the Indian king intercede on behalf of the prince for seven consecutive nights and persuade the king to postpone the execution of the prince. According to the Shâh-nâmeh we have no seven *vazirs*, but we find a number of sages who know the stars. They consult the stars for seven consecutive nights to find out the truth about the miscarriage complained of by Soudâbeh as the result of the attempted violence of Siavâsh. The number seven plays a prominent part in the story of Siavâsh in the Shâh-nâmeh. Siâvash on his return from Rustam after completing his education was entertained by the king for seven days. It was for seven years that Kâus tried the ability of Siâvash before putting him at the head of the province of Mawaralnahar (The Trausoxania). Again it was for seven years that Soudâbeh entertained love for Siâvash before revealing it to him.

7. The last time that the Indian queen comes before the king to defend herself, she accuses the *vazirs* of being in league with the prince and of saying falsehoods. So does the Persian queen accuse the sages, who met for seven consecutive nights, of being afraid of Siâvash and of saying what was not true.

8. According to one account of the Sindibâd-nâmeh, the Indian queen, who, in the end, was found guilty, was pardoned by the king at the intercession of the prince. So was the Persian queen, who was

condemned to death by the king, pardoned at the request of the Persian prince.

Now there is one great difference between the story of the Sindibâd-nâme and that of the Shâh-nâme. It is this, that we do not find in the Shâh-nâme any allusion to the stories told to the king each successive night by one of the seven *vazirs*. But in place of that we merely find that the sages met together for seven nights. According to the Sindibâd-nâme story it is the alternative stories of the *vazirs* and the queen that allay and excite the feelings of the Indian king. According to the Shâh-nâme story it is the tricks of the queen and their exposures that alternately excite and allay the suspicions of the Persian king. At first she tears off her clothes and raises an alarm to excite the king's suspicions which are soon removed when he finds no trace, on the body of Siâvash, of the strong perfumes with which she has covered her body. Then Soudâbeh resorts to the trick of a pretended miscarriage, which again makes the king a little suspicious. The sages after their seven nights' consultation soon expose the mischievous plot. Soudâbeh in her turn, again weeps bitterly, and accuses the sages of being afraid of, and partial to, the prince. This moves the king again a little in her favour. He calls a council of his *Mobeds* to discover the whole truth. They advise an ordeal by fire. Now these steps and countersteps taken by the queen on one hand and the sages and *Mobeds* on the other, as described in the Shâh-nâme, are replaced by the stories of the seven *vazirs* in the Sindibâd-nâme.

Now, I think that this narration of stories by the seven *vazirs* and the queen, is a foreign element added to the Pehelvi story by the Arabs who were very fond of spinning out a long story in the form of petty stories narrated every night, as we see in the case of the well-known Arabian Nights. I think I am borne out in this view by the very fact—and that an important fact—that, as pointed out by Mr. Clouston, the stories of the seven *vazirs* and the queen vary greatly in the different versions—Syriac, Greek and Persian—of the Sindibâd-nâme. The main features in the story remain the same in all the different versions of the Sindibâd-nâme as in the original Persian story, but in the stories of the *vazirs* and the queen, which I consider to be the foreign element added by the Arabs, as was their wont, we find a great difference in the different versions of the Sindibâd-nâme.

Thus, it appears to me that if the source of the story of "The King the Damsel and the Prince," as described in the Sindibâd-nâme, be Pehelvi, we find it in the story of Kâus, Soudâbeh and Siâvash of the Shâhnâme which is, as the poet himself says, written from Pehelvi sources.

It appears that the story of Siâvash is more ancient than the times of the Sassanian period when the Pehelvi books from which Firdousi took his materials were written. We find an allusion to the unsurpassed beauty and innocence of Siâvash in the older writings of the Avesta. In the Avesta writing, known as the Afrin-i-Spitâman Zarathusht, we read the following passage:—"Srirem keharpem anâstravanem bavâhi yatha kava Siâvarshânô," i.e., may you be as beautiful and innocent as Siâvash. An allusion to the unparalleled beauty of Siâvash is also made in the Pazend Âfrin, where one is desired to be as beautiful as Siâvash (Hudeed béd chûn Siâvakhsh).

ART. XVI.—*Bhartrihari and Kumārila*.—By K. B. PATHAK,
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[Read, 28th June 1892.]

IN my last paper I relied on two distinct passages in I-tsing's work. One of these passages refers to Dharmakīrti¹ as his contemporary according to the French translation. But we read in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX., p. 319, that this passage was submitted to another Chinese authority, Prof. Vasiliev, who gave it as his opinion that the original Chinese expression may also be interpreted as "nearest in time." Now this last rendering looks on the face of it very indefinite. I, therefore, referred to another passage in I-tsing's work, in which that author is most precise in his statement of the facts which he has communicated to posterity.

This second passage, to which I appealed in my last paper, is the one which refers to Bhartrihari as having died in 650 A.D. Here² I-tsing is giving a description of our grammatical literature, as it was known and studied in India in the latter half of the seventh century. He mentions several standard authorities on the science of grammar. When he comes to speak of Bhartrihari, he tells us that he was a grammarian of wide-spread fame and that he was the author of the *Vākya-discourse* or *Vākya-padīya*. I-tsing, moreover, gives the number of verses contained in the *Vākya-padīya* as 700. On examining the text of this work, as we now have it in the manuscript³ belonging to the Deccan College Library and in an edition of it printed at Benares, I find that I-tsing's statement is very nearly correct.³ After giving these particulars about Bhartrihari and his *Vākya-padīya*, the Chinese pilgrim adds that this author died in 650 A.D. This is a most interesting literary fact, and the value attaching to it from a historical point of view cannot be over-estimated when we remember that it was

¹ Dharmakīrti and Śaṅkarācārya, J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 88.

² Prof. Max Müller on the date of the *Kāśikā*, Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 308.

³ I refer the reader to Dr. Kielhorn's valuable paper on the grammarian Bhartrihari, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII., pp. 226-227, where it is most satisfactorily proved that I-tsing restricts the term *Vākya-padīya* to the first two chapters of Bhartrihari's work, in the same way as Vardhamāna does in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* when he speaks of Bhartrihari as वाक्यपदीयप्रकीर्णकयोः कर्ता.

communicated to us by a contemporary writer ; for I-tsing was born about 635, whereas Bhartṛihari, to whom he refers, died in 650 A. D.

In the *Tantravârtika*, Chapter I., Section 3, Kumârila delivers a powerful attack on Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana, Patañjali and other grammarians, and contends that the study of grammar is not enjoined in any Vedic school. Nor can it be maintained that grammar is part of the Vedas, because, while the Vedas are eternal, grammar is only the offspring of the human brains and is no better than the utterances of Buddha and other men : *

न च वेदाङ्गभावोऽपि कश्चिद्व्याकरणं प्रति ।

तादर्थ्यावयवाभावाद्बुद्धादिवचनेष्विव ॥

श्रुतिलिङ्गादिभिस्तावत्तादर्थ्यं नास्य गम्यते ।

अकृत्रिमस्य वा कश्चित्कृत्रिमोऽवयवः कथम् ॥

Kumârila then proceeds to argue that the science of words is not useful in preserving the Vedas, nor even in maintaining the purity of our every-day speech, and that even such eminent classical authors as Maśaka, Âśvalâyana, Nârada, Manu and prince Pâlakârya pay no regard to the rules laid down by Pâṇini⁵.

In the course of this very interesting discussion which occupies nearly a whole section, Kumârila cites numerous verses from the *Vâkyapadîya* of Bhartṛihari. I shall, however, content myself with pointing out only five of these verses as that number will suffice for my present purpose. The 121st verse in the second Chapter of the *Vâkyapadîya*, Benares Edition, p. 132, runs thus :

अस्त्यर्थः सर्वशब्दानामिति प्रत्याख्यलक्षणम् ।

अपूर्वदेवतास्वर्गैः सममाहुर्गवादिषु ॥

This verse is twice quoted by Kumârila, *Tantravârtika*, Benares Edition, pp. 251 and 254 :

यथाहुः ॥

“ अस्त्यर्थः सर्वशब्दानामिति प्रत्याख्यलक्षणम् ।

अपूर्वदेवतास्वर्गैः सममाहुर्गवादिषु ” ॥ इति ॥

यत्तु

“ अपूर्वदेवतास्वर्गैः सममाहुः ” इति ॥

तत्राभिधीयते ॥

* *Tantravârtika*, Benares Edition, p. 207.

Ibid. p. 199.

The second line of the 13th verse in the first Chapter of the Vâkyapadîya, p. 7, is quoted and parodied, and the sentiment expressed therein is held up to ridicule by Kumârila, Tantravârtika, pp. 209 and 210, thus :

यदपि केन चिदुक्तम् ॥

“ तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृत” इति,
तद्रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शेष्वपि वक्तव्यमासीत् ।

को हि प्रत्यक्षगम्येथे शास्त्रान्तत्त्वावधारणम् ।

शास्त्रलोकस्वभावज्ञ ईदृशं वक्तुमर्हति ॥

अत एव श्लोकस्योत्तरादौ वक्तव्यम् ।

तत्त्वावबोधः शब्दानां नास्ति श्रोत्रेन्द्रियादृत इति ॥

न ह्यत्र कश्चिद्विप्रतिपद्यते बधिरेष्वेवमदृष्टत्वात् ।

The 14th verse in the second Chapter of the Vâkyapadîya, p. 73, is also quoted by Kumârila, Tantravârtika, p. 220 :

ब्राह्मणार्थो यथा नास्ति कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणकम्बले ।

देवदत्तादयो वाक्ये तथैव स्युरनर्थकाः ॥

Here are two more quotations :

वृषलैर्न प्रवेष्टव्यमित्येतस्मिन् गृहे यथा ।

प्रत्येकं संहतानां च प्रवेशः प्रतिषिध्यते ॥ ३७७ ॥

Vâkyapadîya, Chap. II.

वृषलैर्न प्रवेष्टव्यं गृहेस्मिन्निति चोदिते ।

प्रत्येकं संहतानां च प्रवेशः प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

Tantravârtika, Chap. III., Sec. I., Benares Edition,
p. 732.

काकेभ्यो रक्ष्यतां सर्पिरिति बालोपि चोदितः ।

उपघातपरे वाक्ये न श्वादिभ्यो न रक्षति ॥ ३०९ ॥

Vâkyapadîya, Chap. II.

तथा च आह

काकेभ्यो रक्ष्यतामन्नमिति बालोपि चोदितः ।

उपघातप्रधानत्वान्न श्वादिभ्यो न रक्षति ॥

न त्विदमत्रोदाहरणं घटते ।

Tantravârtika, Chap. III., Sec. I. Benares Edition, p. 731.

We have thus seen that Kumârila frequently quotes Bhartṛihari and criticises him along with Pāṇini and Patañjali. It is obvious, I think, that in Kumârila's days, Bhartṛihari was regarded as a high authority on grammatical science. In his own life-time he could not have been so distinguished as to attract the notice of a foreign scholar, or so highly thought of by the followers of the Pāṇinian school as to deserve being criticised along with such acknowledged authorities as Pāṇini and Patañjali by a leader of the Mīmāṃsā school. Hence Hiuen Tsiang, who was travelling in India between 629-645, does not mention him, whereas I-tsing, writing nearly half a century later, tells us that Bhartṛihari was known as a famous grammarian throughout the five divisions of India. On this ground we may fairly conclude that half a century must have elapsed between the date of Bhartṛihari's death, A. D. 650, and the time at which the *Tantravārtika* was composed. In other words, Kumârila must have flourished in the first half of the eighth century. This is the earliest date that we can assign to him, consistently with the facts stated above.

We are dealing here with two distinguished authors, I-tsing and Kumârila. The former was a cultured and scholarly native of China, and a follower of Śākyasimha whose immortal name appears above the surface of oblivion, like a mountain peak, glowing in the grandeur of eternity. I-tsing came to India to visit the sacred places of his religion where those blessed feet of the Enlightened One had trod. The latter was Kumârila, a native of Southern India whose intellectual superiority was so great that he towered far above his contemporaries. He was at a loss to conceive how Buddha, Kshatriya as he was, could aspire to the position of a teacher—a position which belonged by right of birth to the Brahmin alone—and proclaim to the astonished world that he was the only saviour of mankind :

कलिकलुषकृतानि यानि लोके
मयि निपतन्तु विमुच्यतां तु लोकः ॥

Tantravārtika, Chap. I., Sec. III., p. 116.

Kumârila therefore occupied himself both by pen and speech in eradicating that religion which had well-nigh extinguished the last spark of Brahminism and which had attracted I-tsing to India from the far East.

Both these writers are speaking of the same subject, namely, the grammatical literature of India, but from different points of view. They

name the same authorities, Pāṇini, Patañjali and Bhartṛihari, and agree in referring to the same work of Bhartṛihari, namely, the Vākyaṇādiya. The relations between Bhartṛihari, I-tsing and Kumārila may be seen at a glance from the following table :—

Bhartṛihari, 650 A. D.



Like the general run of Indian authors, Kumārila confines himself to criticising Bhartṛihari adversely, but affords no clue to his own date or that of Bhartṛihari. On the other hand I-tsing supplies definite information on two points, namely, the date of Bhartṛihari's death and the interval of time that must have elapsed between that event and the period at which he became famous throughout India. And since the Tantravārtika was obviously composed at a time when Bhartṛihari's renown as a grammarian was completely established in the five divisions of India, we are forced to assign Kumārila, at the earliest, to the first half of the eighth century.

Again, we possess interesting evidence to determine the chronological priority of Kumārila to Śaṅkarāchārya; for the former is actually referred to by the latter in the Taittirīyabhāṣya and quoted by Suresvara in the Taittirīyavārtika in the same connection. The introduction to the Taittirīyabhāṣya thus opens with an attack on a certain Mīmāṃsaka* :

काम्यनिषिद्धयोरनारम्भादारब्धस्य चोपभोगेन क्षयान्नित्यानुष्ठानेन प्रत्यवाया-
भावादयन्नत एव स्वात्मन्यवस्थानं मोक्षः । अथवा निरतिशयायाः प्रीतिः स्वर्ग-
शब्दवाच्यायाः कर्महेतुत्वात्कर्मभ्य एव मोक्ष इति चेन्न ।

In explaining this passage, Suresvara tells us that the Mīmāṃsaka here attacked by his teacher Śaṅkarāchārya is no less an author than Kumārila himself. Says the Taittirīyavārtika' :

मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः ।
नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात्प्रत्यवायविहासया ॥
इति मीमांसकमन्यैः कर्मोक्तं मोक्षसाधनम् ।
प्रत्याख्यायाऽऽत्मविज्ञानं तत्र न्यायेन निर्णयः ॥

* Taittirīyabhāṣya, Ānandāśrama Ed., p. 3.

† Taittirīyavārtika, Ānandāśrama Ed., p. 5.

Here the first verse quoted by Sureśvara occurs in Kumârila's *Śloka-vârtika*,⁸ and it is plain that Śaṅkara has only paraphrased this verse in setting forth the Mīmāṃsaka's view.

In the next verse Sureśvara calls Kumârila Mīmāṃsakamānya or one who makes a parade of his Mīmāṃsā-lore. None but Sureśvara who lived shortly after Kumârila, could have ventured on the use of such a disrespectful expression towards that distinguished Mīmāṃsaka.

We have thus established chronological relations between Bhartrihari, Kumârila and Śaṅkarāchārya. Bhartrihari is criticised by Kumârila who in his turn is criticised by Śaṅkarāchārya; Bhartrihari died in 650 A. D., and became famous throughout India nearly half a century later as I-tsing assures us. Kumârila, who must have criticised Bhartrihari after the latter had become famous, of course belongs to the first half of the eighth century; and Śaṅkarāchārya must for a similar reason be assigned to the latter half of the same century. This view of the matter, be it observed, does not involve any acceptance of tradition, but rests entirely on the explicit statements made by I-tsing, Kumârila and Sureśvara. Nor can the conclusion thus arrived at be invalidated by any arguments that have been as yet advanced unless one is prepared to pronounce I-tsing's work a pure forgery.

Turning to Digambara Jaina literature, the first name that greets us is Samantabhadra whose *Āptamīmāṃsā* is cited by Vāchaspatimiśra in explaining Śaṅkarāchārya's criticism on the *Syādvāda* doctrine.⁹

स्याद्वादः सर्वथैकांतत्यागात्किञ्चित्त्वचिद्विधिः ।

सप्तभंगनयापेक्षो हेयादेयविशेषकृत् ॥

The appearance of Samantabhadra in Southern India marks an epoch not only in the annals of Digambara Jainism but in the history of Sanskrit literature. The *Āptamīmāṃsā* is regarded as the

⁸ Pandita, Vol. III., p. 584. See Bāmatīrtha's *Śāstrakāśāstrasaṃgraha*, Chap. I., section I. Sureśvara also quotes Kumârila in his *Bṛihadāraṇyaka-vârtika*, Chap. II., Section 4 :—

यज्जातीयैः प्रमाणैस्तु यज्जातीयार्थदर्शनम् ।

भवेदिदानीं लोकस्य तथा कालान्तरेऽप्यभूत् ॥ १०१ ॥

यत्राप्यतिशयो बहः स स्वार्थानतिलक्षणात् ।

दूरम्भूमादिवहो स्याज्ज क्ये भोजवृत्तिता ॥ १०२ ॥

Pandita, Vol. III., p. 85.

⁹ Bāmatī, Bibl. Ind. Ed., p. 458. The verse stands 104th in the *Devāgama-stotra*.

most authoritative exposition of the Syâdvâda Doctrine and of the Jaina notion of an omniscient being, and passes in review all the contemporary schools of philosophy, including the Brahmâdvaita Doctrine.¹⁰

This work was composed by Samantabhadra by way of introduction to his larger work, the Gandhahastimahâbhâshya, a commentary on the Tatvârtha of Umâsvâti, and is widely known in India as the Devâgamastotra, from its opening verse:

देवागमनभोयानचामरादिविभूतयः ।
मायाविष्वापि दृश्यन्ते नातस्त्वमसि नो महान् ॥

Samantabhadra also wrote Yuktyanuśâsana, Ratnakaraṇḍaka, Svayambhūstotra and a Jinaśataka. The earliest commentary on the Âptamīmāṃsâ is the Ashtâsatî of Akalaṃka who is also known as Akalaṃkadêva or Akalaṃkachandra. He was likewise the author of the Laghîyastraya, Nyâyavinîśchaya, Akalaṃkastotra, Svarûpa-sambodhana and Prâyaśchitta. The second and more exhaustive commentary on the Âptamīmāṃsâ is the Âptamīmāṃsâlaṃkāra or Ashtasahasrî of Vidyânanda who tells us that he has followed the Ashtâsatî as his guide:¹¹

श्रीमदकलंकविबृता समंतभद्रोक्तिमत्र संक्षेपात् ।
परमांगमार्थविषयामष्टसहस्री प्रकाशयति ॥ Chapter, X.

He also wrote Yuktyanuśâsanâlaṃkāra, a commentary on the Yuktyanuśâsana. He was likewise the author of the Âptaparîkshâ.¹²

The Śloka-vârtika, which is quoted in the Ashtasahasrî,¹³ and the Pramâṇaparîkshâ which is referred to in the Yuktyanuśâsanâlaṃkāra,¹⁴ are also attributed to him.

Samantabhadra, Akalaṃka and Vidyânanda are thus referred to by Mânîkyanandi in the Parîkshâamukha:¹⁵

¹⁰ Devâgamastotra, verses 24-27.

¹¹ Ashtasahasrî, Deccan College MS., No. 524 of 1875-76, p. 200b.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 38b.

¹³ Vishalkîrti Maharaja's MS., p. 9a.

¹⁴ Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa, Deccan College MS., No. 638 of 1875-76, p. 77a.

सिद्धं सर्वजनप्रबोधजननं सद्यो कलंकाश्रयं
 विद्यानंदसमंतभद्रगुणती नित्यं मनोनंदनं ।
 निर्दोषं परमागमार्थविषयं प्रोक्तं प्रमालक्षणं
 युक्त्या चेतसि चिंतयंतु सुधियः श्रीवर्धमानं जिनं ॥ Chapter I.

The earliest commentary on the work of Mānikyanandi is the Prameya-kamalamārtanḍa of Prabhāchandra who says that his author has based his aphorisms on the works of Akalaṃka, as the latter are too hard for children to understand :¹⁶

श्रीमदकलंकार्थो व्युत्पन्नप्रज्ञैरवगंतुं न शक्यत इति तद्व्युत्पादनाय करतलामल-
 कवत्तदर्थमुद्धृत्य प्रतिपादयितुकामस्तत्परिज्ञानानुग्रहेच्छाप्रेरितस्तदर्थप्रतिपादन-
 प्रवणं प्रकरणमिदमाचार्यः [ः] प्राह ।

Prabhāchandra adds that besides the Prameyakamala-mārtanḍa, he also wrote the Nyāyakumuda-chandrodaya, a commentary on the Laghīyāstraya of Akalaṃka whom he thus speaks of as his teacher :

माणिक्यनंदिपदमप्रतिमप्रबोधः¹⁷
 व्याख्याय बोधनिधिरेष पुनः प्रबंधः ।
 प्रारभ्यते सकलसिद्धिविधौ समर्थे
 मूले प्रकाशितजगत्त्रयवस्तुसार्थे ॥ ३ ॥
 बोधः कोप्यसमः समस्तविषयः प्राप्याकलंकं पदं
 जातस्तेन समस्तवस्तुविषयं व्याख्यायते न्तत्पदं ।
 किं न श्रीगणभृज्जिनेन्द्रपदतः प्राप्तप्रभावः स्वयं
 व्याख्यायति प्रतिमं वचो जिनपतेः सर्वैश्वर्यात्मकं ॥ ४ ॥

TRANSLATION.

After having commented on the work of Mānikyanandi conveying unequalled knowledge, this commentary which is the repository of knowledge is again commenced on a text which lights up the multitude of things in the three worlds and which is able to effect the fulfilment of all desires. From having approached the feet of Akalaṃka

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 1b. Cf. अकलंकवचोभोधैरुद्वेगे येन धीमता ।

व्यायाविद्यामूर्तं तस्मै नमो माणिक्यनंदिने ॥

Anantavīrya.

¹⁶ Introduction to the Nyāyakumudachandrodaya, palm-leaf MS. from Sravāṇa Belgol.

I have gained indescribable and unsurpassed knowledge ; and with it I explain his work treating of all subjects. Does not the prosperous Gaṇadhara [Gautama] himself, who has obtained splendid gifts from the feet of the excellent Jina [Mahāvīra] explain his incomparable speech delivered in the respective dialects of all people ?

It is evident that Prabhāchandra was the pupil of Akalaṃka. Vidyānanda quotes Akalaṃka ; Mānikyanandi mentions Akalaṃka and Vidyānanda. Prabhāchandra, the pupil of Akalaṃka, writes a commentary on Mānikyanandi's work, in which he frequently quotes Vidyānanda.¹⁷ These facts show convincingly that we have here a group of four contemporary authors, Akalaṃka being the oldest of them all. The chronological relations between them may be best seen from the following table: —

Akalaṃka
Vidyānanda
Mānikyanandi
Prabhāchandra.

Prabhāchandra quotes¹⁸ the opening verse in Bāṇa's Kādambarī,

रजोजुषे जन्मनि सत्त्ववृत्तये
स्थितौ मज्जानां प्रलये तमःस्पृशे ।
अत्राय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवे
त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मने नमः ॥

Both Vidyānanda and Prabhāchandra frequently quote Bhartṛihari :¹⁹

न सोस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिवाभाति सर्वं शब्दे प्रतिष्ठितं ॥

It is therefore obvious that Akalaṃka and Prabhāchandra lived after the 7th century. They also lived before Jinasēna, the preceptor of Amoghavarsha I., who mentions them in the Ādipurāṇa.²⁰ These facts will enable us to accept as correct the opinion of Brahmanemi-

¹⁷ Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, pp. 116. Here Prabhāchandra reproduces the pūrvapakṣa of the Mīmāṃsaka word for word from the Aṣṭasahasrī, p. 40.

¹⁸ Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, p. 148a. Dr. Peterson's Edition of the Kādambarī.

¹⁹ Prameyakamalamārtanḍa, p. 21a. Aṣṭasahasrī, p. 107a.

²⁰ The passage is cited further on. Ādipurāṇa, Deccan College MS., No. 288 of 1883-84, p. 3a.

datta,²¹ though a modern writer, that Akalaṃka was contemporary with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Śubhatuṅga or Kṛishṇarāja I. I shall now quote the passage in the Ādipurāṇa which mentions Akalaṃka and Prabhāchandra together with his great work the Nyāyakumudachandrodaya, or, as it is briefly styled, the Chandrodaya :

चंद्रांशुशुभयशसं प्रभाचंद्रं कविं स्तुवे ।
 कृत्वा चंद्रोदयं येन शश्वदाह्लादितं जगत् ॥ ४७ ॥
 चंद्रोदयकृतस्तस्य यशः केन न शस्यते ।
 यदाकल्पमनाम्लायि सती शोखरतां गतं ॥ ४८ ॥
 भट्टकलंकश्रीपालपात्रकेसरिणा गुणाः ।
 विदुषा हृदयारूढा हारायंतेतिनिर्मलाः ॥ ५३ ॥

“I praise the poet Prabhāchandra, whose fame is as bright as the rays of the moon, and who has ever delighted the world by the composition of the Chandrodaya. Who does not extol the fame of that author of the Chandrodaya which adorns the head of the good and will not fade till the end of time? The merits of Bhaṭṭakalaṃka Śrīpāla and Pātrakesari, exceedingly faultless, shine as though they were garlands placed on the breast of the wise.”

In this passage Jinasena mentions Akalaṃka, Prabhāchandra the author of the Nyāyakumuda-chandrodaya and Pātrakesari. In a very old palm-leaf manuscript of the Ādipurāṇa, belonging to Brahmasūri Sāstri of Śravaṇa Belgol and written in old Kanarese characters, Vidyānanda is given as another name of Pātrakesari. Again the Saṃyaktvaprakāśa²² quotes a certain passage from the Jaina Śloka-vārtika and ascribes it to Vidyānanda alias Pātrakesarisvāmi :

तथा श्लोकवार्तिके विद्यानंदि[द]भपरनामपात्रकेसरिस्वामिना यदुक्तं तच्च
 लिख्यते तत्त्वार्थश्रद्धानं सम्यग्दर्शनं ॥ ननु सम्यग्दर्शनशब्दनिर्वचनसाम-
 र्थादेव सम्यग्दर्शनस्वरूपनिर्णयादशेषताद्वि[प्रतिप]त्तिनिवृत्तेः सिद्धत्वात्तदर्थं
 तल्लक्षणवचनं न युक्तिमदेवेति कस्यचिदारेका तामपाकरोति.

²¹ Kathākośa, Deccan College MS., No. 471 of 1884-86, Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 215, where 'bhavati' is a mistake for 'Bharate.'

²² Saṃyaktvaprakāśa, Deccan College MS., No. 777 of 1876-78, p. 66.

This passage occurs at the beginning of the second chapter of the Jaina Śloka-vārtika,²³ which the Hindi commentator²⁴ on the Ratnakaraṇḍaka attributes to Vidyānanda. In a play entitled Jñāna-Sūryodaya Vādichandra introduces Ashtaśaśī²⁵ as a female character. When she encounters Mīmāṃsā and other sects, she recites the Devāgamastotra and explains it. But unable to silence them and frightened at their appearance, she seeks refuge in the lotus-like mouth of Pātrakesari. In the 4th Act she says,²⁶

देव, ततोहमुत्तालितहृदया श्रीमत्पात्रकेसरिमुखकमलं गता तेन साक्षात्कृत-
सकलस्याद्वादाभिप्रायेण लालिता पालिताष्टसहस्रीतया पुष्टिः नीता देव स
यदि नापालयिष्यत्तदा कथं त्वामद्राक्षं (द्रक्ष्यं)

“that she was protected from the attacks of Mīmāṃsā and other schools by the prosperous Pātrakesari who developed her into the Ashtaśaśī.”

These facts enable us to identify Pātrakesari with Vidyānanda who wrote the Ashtaśaśī.

We have already seen that Akalaṃka, Prabhāchandra and Vidyānanda *alias* Pātrakesari have been praised by Jinasena. The praśasti at the end of the Uttarapurāṇa, which speaks of Jinasena as the preceptor of Amoghavaraha I, and which was composed in Śaka 820²⁷ when Lokāditya of the Chalaketaṇa or cloth-bannered²⁸ family was ruling at Baṃkāpura, was discovered by me and communicated to the Indian Antiquary²⁹ in 1883. Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra is described in the Sanskrit Commentary on his Ātmānuśāsana³⁰ as the preceptor of Kṛṣṇarāja II., while the latter was still a *yuvarāja*.

For the purposes of the present inquiry, it is necessary to fix the date of Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa as precisely as possible. He wrote his

²³ Śloka-vārtikālaṃkāra, Deccan College MS., p. 64a.

²⁴ Hindi commentary on the Ratnakaraṇḍaka, Deccan College MS. No. 660 of 1875-76, p. 286a.

²⁵ Akalaṃka's commentary on Samantabhadra's Devāgamastotra mentioned in the next sentence.

²⁶ Jñānasūryodaya, Deccan College MS., No. 495 of 1884-86, p. 58b.

²⁷ The cyclic year mentioned here is piṅgala. Deccan College MS., No. 505 of 1884-86.

²⁸ See my paper in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 104.

²⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 216.

³⁰ Ātmānuśāsana, verse 106, MS. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur.

first work the Jaina Harivaṁśa in Śaka 705 when the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Vallabha II. was reigning. At this time Jinasena must have been very young as the Harivaṁśa is lacking in richness of fancy, copiousness of imagery and fluency of verse, which distinguish the later productions of his muse. The interesting praśasti of the Jaina Harivaṁśa together with the passage in which the Gupta kings are alluded to, I have published in the Indian Antiquary.³¹

Jinasena lived on into the reign of Amoghavarsha I. as he tells us himself in the Pārsvābhyudaya :³²

इति विरचितमेतत्काव्यमवेष्ट्य मेघं
बहुगुण[मप]दोषं कालिदासस्य काव्यं ।
मलिनितपरकाव्यं तिष्ठतादाशशाकं
भुवनमवतु देवस्सर्वदामोषवर्षः ॥ ७० ॥
श्रीवीरसेनमुनिपादपयोजभृङ्गः
श्रीमानभूद्दिनयसेनमुनिर्गरीयान् ।
तच्चोदितेन जिनसेनमुनीश्वरेण
काव्यं व्यधायि परिवेष्टितमेघदूतं ॥ ७१ ॥

इत्यमोषवर्षपरमेश्वरपरमगुरुश्रीजिनसेनाचार्यविरचितमेघदूतवेष्टितवेष्टिते
पार्श्वभ्युदये भगवत्कैवल्यवर्णनं नाम चतुर्थस्तवः ॥ ४ ॥

This poem is one of the curiosities of Sanskrit literature. It is at once the product and the mirror of the literary taste of the age. The first place among Indian poets is allotted to Kālidāsa by consent of all. Jinasena, however, claims to be considered a higher genius than the author of the Cloud-messenger. But this estimate of himself is not endorsed by posterity who regard Kālidāsa as the greatest of Indian bards, the unapproached and unapproachable; whereas, except among his co-religionists, Jinasena's name has passed into unmerited oblivion. However this may be, the value of the Pārsvābhyudaya to a modern editor of the Cloud-messenger cannot be exaggerated as Jinasena has contrived to interweave the whole of that charming love-song into his poem. It may be noted here that the earliest allusions to Kālidāsa

³¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XV., p. 141.

³² MS. of the Kolhapur Jaina Maṭha.

are those found in the Harshacharita³³ and the Aihole inscription of Pulikeśi II,³⁴ which thus opens in praise of Jina :

जयति भगवान्नि(जि)नेन्द्रो वीतजरा[मर]णजन्मनो यस्य ।
ज्ञानसमुद्रान्तर्गतमखिलज्जगदन्तरीपमिव ॥

The next reference in chronological order to the great poet occurs in Kumârila's work,³⁵ and the allusion to Kâlidâsa, which is met with in the Pârsvâbhyudaya is consequently a still later one.

The composition of the Pârsvâbhyudaya I refer to the early part of Amoghavarsha's reign; and last but not least, comes the Âdipurâna which admittedly ranks very high as a piece of literary workmanship; but Jinasena did not live long enough to finish it. Tradition tells us that when Jinasena felt that his end was approaching he called to his side two of his disciples and, pointing to a piece of wood which lay in front of them, asked each to describe it. One of them said

शुष्कं काष्ठं तिष्ठत्यग्रे.

And the other who was Guṇabhadra said

नीरसदारु भाति पुरा.

It is needless to remark that the latter description highly commended itself to Jinasena who thereupon entrusted to Guṇabhadra the

³³ Introduction to Harshacharita.

³⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 237. That this is the reading of the verse is clear from the following :—

अमरणजन्मरहिया ते सिद्धा मम सुभक्तिजुतस्त ।

देतु वरणाणलाहं..... ॥ Siddhabhakti.

संसारचक्रगमनागतिविप्रमुक्ता-

जित्यं जरामरणजन्मविकारहीनान् ।

देवेन्द्रदानवगणैरभिपूज्यमानान्

सिद्धांलोकमहितान् शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ Siddhabhakti.

विभूताशेषसंसारबन्धनो भव्यबोधवः ।

विपुरारिस्त्वमीशोसि जन्ममृत्युजरांतकृन् ॥ Jinasena, Âdipurâna.

सम्यग्दर्शनमात्रेण संतोषमपरे गताः ।

श्रुत्वातिविमलं धर्मं जिनानां जितजन्मनां ॥ Ravishena, Padmapurâna.

³⁵ Tantravârtika, Benares Ed., p. 123 :—

एवं च विद्वच्चनादिनिर्गतं

प्रसिद्धरूपं कविभिर्निरूपितं ।

“सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषु

प्रमाणमंतःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ” इति ।

task of finishing the Âdipurâṇa.³⁶ The latter also wrote the Uttara-purâṇa and the Âtmânusâsana alluded to above.

The Pâravâbhyudaya and the Âdipurâṇa do not enable us to assign the latest date to Jinasena. But this omission is supplied by the Jayadhavalâtîkâ which mentions this author along with his illustrious contemporary and disciple Amoghavarsha I. and gives Śaka 759³⁷ as the date of its own completion :

इति श्रीवीरसेनीया टीका सूत्रार्थदर्शनी ।
मठग्रामपुरे श्रीमद्गुर्जरार्यानुपालिते ॥
फाल्गुने मासि पूर्वाह्णे दशम्यां शुक्लपक्षके ।
प्रवर्धमानपूजायां नंदीश्वरमहोत्सवे ॥
अमोघवर्षराजेन्द्रराज्यप्राज्यगुणोदया ।
निष्ठितप्रचयं यायादाकल्पातमनल्पिका ॥
षष्टिरेव सहस्राणि ग्रंथानां परिमाणतः ।
श्लोकेनानुष्टुभेनात्र निर्दिष्टान्यनुपूर्वशः ॥
विभक्तिः प्रथमस्कंधो द्वितीयः संक्रमोदयः ।
उपयोगश्च शेषास्तु तृतीयस्कंध इष्यते ॥
एकान्षष्टिसमधिकसप्तशताब्देषु शकनरैद्रस्य ।
समतीतेषु समाप्ता जयधवळा प्राभृतव्याख्या ॥
गाथासूत्राणि सूत्राणि चूर्णिसूत्रं तु वार्तिकं ।
टीका श्रीवीरसेनीया शेषा पद्धतिपंचिका ॥
श्रीवीरप्रभुभाषितार्थघटनां निर्लोठितान्यागम-
न्याया श्रीजिनसेनसन्मुनिवरैरादेशितार्थस्थितिः ।
टीका श्रीजयचिह्नितोरुधवळा सूत्रार्थसंदोषिनी
स्थेयादारविचंद्रमुज्ज्वलतया श्रीपालसंपादिता ॥

³⁶ Jinasena wrote the first 42 chapters of this work, the remaining 5 chapters being composed by his pupil. In his introduction to the 43rd chap. Guṇabhadra says :—

अर्धं गुरुभिरेवास्य पूर्वं निष्पादितं परैः ॥
परं निष्पाद्यमानं सच्छंदो बभ्राति सुंदरं ॥ ११ ॥
इक्षोरिवास्य पूर्वार्धमेवाभाति रसावहं ॥
यथा तथास्तु निष्पादिरिति प्रारभ्यते मया ॥ १४ ॥

³⁷ Siddhântatraya or three Scriptures at Mûḍabidari, leaf 51B. I owe this reference to Brahmasûri Shastri of Sravana Belgol.

We may safely accept Śaka 760 as the date of the Âdipurâṇa, for at this time Jinasena must have been very old as he wrote his first work the Harivaṃśa in Śaka 705.

We have already seen that the Âdipurâṇa mentions Akalaṃka, Prabhâchandra the author of the Nyâyakumudachandrodaya and Vidyânanda *alias* Pâtrakesari. We have shown that Akalaṃka was contemporary with the Râshtrakûṭa King Śubhatuṅga or Kṛishṇarâja I. and flourished in the 2nd half of the eighth century. Akalaṃka's pupil Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda must have lived on into the first half of the ninth century, and were, of course, contemporary with Jinasena who wrote his Harivaṃśa in the time of the Râshtrakûṭa king Vallabha II. The latest date, therefore, which can be assigned to Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda is Śaka 760, the date of the Âdipurâṇa which mentions them.

As I have intimated above, Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda quote the Vâkyapadîya of Bhartṛihari. They frequently mention and quote Bhartṛihari's great critic Kumârila. Prabhâchandra calls the author of the Tantravârtika either Bhaṭṭa or Kumârila: ३०

ज्ञानस्वभावस्य ज्ञातृव्यापारस्यार्थतथात्वप्रकाशकतया प्रमाणताभ्युपगमान्न
भट्टस्यानंतरोक्ताशेषदोषानुसं(वं)ग इत्यप्यसमीक्षिताभिधानं ।

तथार्थापत्तिरपि प्रमाणांतरं तल्लक्षणं द्वार्थापत्तिरपि दृष्टः शु(श्रु)तो वार्थो-
न्यथा नोपपद्यत इत्यदृष्टार्थकल्पना कुमारिलोप्येतदेव भाष्यकारवचो व्याचष्टे ।

प्रमाणषट्कविज्ञातो यत्रार्थोनन्यथाभवन् ।

अदृष्टं कल्पयेदन्यत् सार्थापत्तिरुदाहृता ॥

Most of the verses attributed to Bhaṭṭa in the Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa and the Aṣṭasahasrî are found in Kumârila's Śloka-vârtika which obviously suggested the title of one of Vidyânanda's own works the Jaina Śloka-vârtika. No author is so frequently or so severely criticised as Kumârila. The reason for this is not far to seek. The illustrious Mîmâṃsaka attacked the Jaina theory of an omniscient being, as propounded by Samantabhadra in the Âptamîmâṃsâ.^{३१} Akalaṃka writes his commentary called Aṣṭaśatî on this very work, but does not reply to Kumârila, whereas Prabhâchandra and Vidyânanda let slip no opportunity of defending Samantabhadra from the attacks of the great Mîmâṃsaka the dread of the Buddhists and the

^{३०} Prameyakamalamârtaṇḍa pp. 14a and 82b.

^{३१} Devâgamastotra, Verses 1—6.

Jainas alike. I do not propose to discuss here the interesting question⁴⁰ whether Kumārila was contemporary with Akalaṃkadeva. Suffice it to say that a portion of Kumārila's critique together with Prabhāchandra's reply to it is reproduced by Sāyaṇa-Mādhava in his Chapter on Jainism.⁴¹

Akalaṃka interprets the third verse in the *Āptamīmāṃsā* as referring to Kapila and Buddha : neither can be accepted as a teacher of mankind because their teachings are inconsistent. Vidyānanda adds⁴² that this verse is also aimed at the followers of Prabhākara and Bhaṭṭa since they disagree as to the way in which a Vedic sentence should be construed. Parodying a well-known line of Kumārila,⁴³ he says :

भावना यदि वाक्यार्थो नियोगो नेति का प्रमा ।
तावुभौ यदि वाक्यार्थो हतौ भट्टप्रभाकरौ ॥
कार्येणै चोदनाज्ञानं स्वरूपे किं न तत्प्रमा ।
द्वयोश्चेद्वन्तौ नष्टौ भट्टवेदांतवादिनौ ॥

Vidyānanda mentions the Vedāntavādi Maṇḍanamīśra⁴⁴ and quotes⁴⁵ several verses from the third chapter of the *Bṛihadāraṇyakavārtika* :

यदुक्तं बृहदारण्यकवार्तिके—
आत्मापि सदिदं ब्रह्म मोहात्पारोक्ष्यदूषितं ।
ब्रह्मापि स तथैवात्मा सद्वितीयतयेक्ष्यते ॥
आत्मा ब्रह्मेति पारोक्ष्य-सद्वितीयत्वबाधनात् ।
पुमर्थे निश्चितं शास्त्रमिति सिद्धं समीहितं ॥
त्वत्पक्षे बहुकल्प्यं स्यात्सर्वं मानविरोधि च ।
कल्प्याविद्यैव मत्पक्षे सा चानुभवसंश्रयेति
कश्चित्सोपि न प्रेक्षावान् ।
ब्रह्माविद्यावदिष्टं चेन्ननु दोषो महानयं ।
निरवद्ये च विद्याया आनर्थक्यं प्रसज्यते ॥

⁴⁰ The question will be discussed in another paper.

⁴¹ *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, Bibl. Ind. Ed., pp. 28, 29.

⁴² *Aṣṭaśaṣṭī*, D. C. MS. *Aṣṭaśaṣṭī*, p. 4 b.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 5 a. तदुक्तं सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति का प्रमा । तावुभौ यदि सर्वज्ञौ मतभेदः कथं तयोरिति ॥

Laghusamantabhadra attributes this verse to Kumārila.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14 b. Maṇḍanamīśra is another name of Sureśvara, according to the Saṃkaravijayas of Chidvilāsa and Mādhava and the Guruvamśakāvya.

⁴⁵ *Aṣṭaśaṣṭī*, pp. 130, 131, 132.

I have shown⁴⁶ how Śaṅkara puts a well-known verse of Dharmakīrti into the mouth of a Vijñānavādi Bauddha and have inferred from that circumstance that in the days of Śaṅkara and Sureśvara it was the fashion for the followers of the Yogācāra school to quote that verse. Vidyānanda represents⁴⁷ a Vijñānavādi as holding a disputation with a Brahmādvaitavādi and citing that very verse. This idea was obviously suggested to the Jaina author by what Śaṅkara and Sureśvara had only recently done. Again both Sureśvara and Vidyānanda⁴⁸ attack the three-fold reason of Dharmakīrti. Both quote Kumārila whom we have assigned to the first half of the eighth century. Both lived after Śaṅkarāchārya and Akalaṃka who belong to the second half of the same century, and before Śaka 760 the date of the Âdipurāṇa. These facts taken together suggest as an inevitable inference that Sureśvara was contemporary with his critic Vidyānanda.

The works of Prabhāchandra and Vidyānanda place at our disposal a mine of useful information. Prabhāchandra mentions,⁴⁹ among other authors, Bhagavān Upavarsha, Dignāga, Udyotakara, Dharmakīrti, Bhartṛihari, Śabarasvāmi, Prabhākara and Kumārila. All these authors with the exception of Bhagavān Upavarsha, are quoted by Vidyānanda.⁵⁰ Bhagavān Upavarsha, Śabarasvāmi, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila are also referred to by Śaṅkarāchārya.⁵¹ The Ashtasahasrī represents Kumārila as refuting the views of Dharmakīrti and Prabhākara. From this circumstance we infer the chronological priority of the two last mentioned authors to Kumārila. Vāchaspatimiśra says that Dignāga is refuted by Udyotakara; and according to the Jaina Ślokavārtika, Udyotakara himself is attacked by Dharmakīrti.⁵²

In his paper⁵³ on the Nyāyabinduṭīkā Dr. Peterson says "in the Jesalmir fragment there is an interesting reference to Kumārila's critique of Dignāga. The writer asserts that when Kumārila rejects mental perception as that had been established from the scriptures

⁴⁶ Dharmakīrti and Śaṅkarāchārya.

⁴⁷ Ashtasahasrī, p. 77b.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71a.

⁴⁹ Prameyayakamalamārtanda, pp. 39, 355a, 5, 12 a, 241b.

⁵⁰ Ashtasahasrī, p. 59 b. Jaina Ślokavārtika, p. 217 a.

⁵¹ Śārīrakabhāṣya, Ānandāśrama Ed., p. 285.

⁵² Ashtasahasrī, pp. 7b, 21b. Prof. Cowell's Preface to the Kusumāñjali, Jaina Ślokavārtika, D. C. MS., p. 217a.

⁵³ J. B. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 51.

(Āgamasiddha) by Dignāga it was because he did not understand Dignāga's definition." This critique of Dignāga occurs in Kumârila's Ślokavârtika, Chapter on pratyaksha. There is another reference to Dignāga in the same work :

वासनाशब्दभेदोत्थविकल्पप्रविभागतः^{५४} ।

न्यायविद्भिरिदं चोक्तं धर्मादौ बुद्धिमाश्रिते ॥ १६७ ॥

व्यवहारोऽनुमानादेः कल्प्यते न बहिःस्थिते ।

अस्तीदं वचनं तेषामिदं तत्र परीक्ष्यताम् ॥ १६८ ॥

न्यायविद्भिरिति । न्यायविद्भिर्हि दिङ्नागाचार्यैरिदमुक्तं । सर्व एवायमनुमानानुमेयव्यवहारो बुद्धयारूढेन धर्मधर्मिन्यायेन न बहिःसत्त्वमपेक्षत इति । एतदपि दूषयति^{५५} ।

In this passage, Sucharitamîśra says, Kumârila applies the expression *nyâyavidbhiḥ* to Dignāgâchârya. It is obvious therefore that the Buddhist author of the Jesalmir fragment and the Brahminical commentator Sucharitamîśra are unanimous in holding that Dignāga is criticised by Kumârila. In his chapter entitled the *Śūnyavâda* the *Mîmâmsaka* controverts the Buddhist view denying the existence of the soul as distinct from the intellect. In explaining this part of the *Ślokavârtika*, Sucharitamîśra frequently cites^{५६} the well-known verse of Dharmakîrti which is quoted by Śaṅkara and Sureśvara, and thus leads us to infer that Dharmakîrti as well as Dignāga is criticised by Kumârila. This view is corroborated, as we have seen, by Vidyânanda who in the *Ashṭasahasrî* represents Kumârila as refuting a verse of Dharmakîrti.

These facts enable us to fix the chronological order in which Dignāga, Udyotakara, Dharmakîrti, Bhartṛihari and Kumârila flourished. Each of these authors lived prior to the one named next after him. They were the predecessors of Śaṅkarâchârya. If we know the precise date of any one of them, we can fix that of Śaṅkarâchârya. In this order Bhartṛihari and Kumârila stand fourth and fifth respectively. The date of Bhartṛihari being known, that of Kumârila or Śaṅkara is easily fixed.

^{५४} Pandita, Vol. III., p. 207.

^{५५} Kâśikâvritti, D. C. MS., p. 196 b.

^{५६} Ibid., p. 228 a.

Hïouen Thsang left India in 645 A. D. ; Bhartṛihari died five years later, that is, in 650 A. D. ; and Bhartṛihari's famous critic Kumârila must of course have flourished, at the least, half a century after Hïouen Thsang. As we know that Bâṇa was contemporary with Hïouen Thsang, we may conclude that Kumârila flourished also after Bâṇa. The correctness of this conclusion it is impossible to dispute as it is based on the positive statement made by a contemporary writer I-tsing, that Bhartṛihari died in 650 A. D. Again, Hïouen Thsang fails to mention Bhartṛihari who was obviously his contemporary. How, then, can we expect to find in this Chinese pilgrim's accounts of his travels a reference to Kumârila who certainly flourished after Bhartṛihari ?

Hïouen Thsang's omission to mention Kumârila—"the great and dangerous Brahmana enemy of the Buddhists"—is thus satisfactorily accounted for. This was made by Dr. Burnell the basis of his view that Kumârila cannot have lived before 645. That Dr. Burnell was right in spite of Mr. Telang's attacks on⁵⁷ this part of his argument is now clear in the light of the facts which I have discovered. Nor does the next Chinese pilgrim mention Kumârila ; but he does mention the two illustrious authors whom Kumârila and Śaṃkarâchârya have criticised, namely, Dharmakîrti and Bhartṛihari. But I-tsing's silence as regards Kumârila is sufficiently explained by his own statement that Bhartṛihari became distinguished nearly half a century after his death. And Kumârila, as I have pointed out, must have attacked the grammarian after his fame was established. It is thus easy to perceive that Dharmakîrti and Bhartṛihari supply a missing link between Chinese and Indian evidence and that Kumârila flourished after the two Chinese pilgrims left India.

Inscriptions in the Kanarese country have proved eminently useful in furnishing the latest limit to the age of Kumârila and Śaṃkarâchârya. It is indeed true that these inscriptions do not directly mention Kumârila or Śaṃkarâchârya ; but they speak of the Râshṭrakûṭa kings Śubhatuṅga, Vallabha II., Amoghavarsha I. and Akâlavarsha. These are the kings praised in the praśastis of Digambara Jaina Literature which have been discovered by the present writer. These praśastis name the Digambara Jaina authors who flourished contemporaneously

⁵⁷ Mr. Telang's paper on the date of Śaṃkarâchârya, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII., p. 96.

with these kings, namely, Akalaṃka, Vidyānanda *alias* Pātrakesari, Prabhāchandra, Jinasena and Guṇabhadra. Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa composed about 838 A. D. praises Prabhāchandra and Pātrakesari who mention Kumārila a hundred times. Prabhāchandra's teacher Akalaṃka is thus referred to in a stone tablet inscription, dated A. D. 1077, at Balagami in Mysore. "In the extensive Śabdaśāstra, he was like the world-renowned Pūjyapāda, in skill in tarkaśāstra he was like Akalaṃkadaiva, in poetical power like Samantabhadra, thus greatly was Rāmasena the chief of the learned praised." This is Mr. Rice's version.⁵⁸ I may point out that Akalaṃkadaiva in this passage is a mislection for Akalaṃkadeva, a name by which this Jaina author is spoken of by Pampa in his Kanarese work⁵⁹ written in Śaka 868. In another stone-tablet inscription at Saundatti, dated Śaka 902, a certain Jaina ascetic is thus spoken of, "he shines like him who was without blemish in (his knowledge of) the six systems of reasoning." This is Mr. Fleet's version.⁶⁰ My own rendering of the passage is this, "the ascetic was like Akalaṃka well-versed in the six systems of philosophy." Mr. Fleet's mistake is similar to that which was committed by Dr. Kielhorn in regard to Pūjyapāda and which was pointed out by me in the Indian Antiquary.⁶¹ Pātrakesari is also mentioned in an inscription at Śravaṇa Belgol in Mysore.⁶² He is praised as having refuted the trilakṣhaṇa or the trilakṣhaṇa-hetu by the grace of the Jaina goddess Padmāvatī. That this is the meaning of the verse in question is evident from Brahmanemidatta's life of that author.⁶³ As I have already pointed out, the trilakṣhaṇa-hetu is discussed and refuted in the Aṣṭasahasrī and the Pramāṇaparīkṣā. Mr. Rice, however, has failed to understand this reference. Nayasena mentions Vidyānanda in his Kanarese work, Dharmāmṛita, written in Śaka 1037. Sāyaṇa-Mādhava quotes⁶⁴ the Svarūpasambodhana of Akalaṃka and mentions Vidyānanda and the Prameyakamalamārtanḍa of

⁵⁸ Mr. Rice's Mysore Inscriptions, p. 132.

⁵⁹ Pampa's Ādipurāṇa. Akalaṃka is frequently mentioned by this name in the Aṣṭasahasrī.

⁶⁰ Mr. Fleet's Inscriptions reprinted from B. Br. R. A. S. Journal, pp. 40, 44.

⁶¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 19.

⁶² Mr. Rice's Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgol, p. 135.

⁶³ Kathākośa, Life of Pātrakesari.

⁶⁴ Sarvadarśanasamgraha, pp. 28, 29, Bibl. Ind. Ed. Pratāpachandra at . 27 is a mistake for Prabhāchandra.

Prabhâchandra. Prof. Cowell speaks of "the Vidyânanda" as if it were the name of a literary work. Kumârila's attacks on Bhartṛihari have also been reproduced in the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*.⁶⁵ Thus our evidence is derived from Chinese history, Brahminical and Jaina literature, and inscriptions in the Kanarese country; and the conclusion at which we have arrived is that Kumârila flourished between 700 and 750 A. D. and that Śaṅkarâchârya and his disciple Sureśvara lived between 750 and 838 A. D.

I shall now briefly notice Mr. Telang's arguments as he has invited me to compare them with my own. The fact that Bhartṛihari, whom Kumârila criticises, died in 650 A. D. was available to him when he penned his last contribution.⁶⁶ The only course then open to him was to accept that fact or to disprove it. But he leaves it unnoticed because it successfully demolishes his theory and then launches into a wide field of speculation on the date of Kumârila. He contends that Śaṅkarâchârya was living in 570 A. D. According to this mode of reasoning, Śaṅkara's predecessor Kumârila would have to be assigned to about 550 A. D., and Kumârila's predecessor Bhartṛihari, to 525 A. D. And yet this last author died in 650 A. D. according to I-tsing; that is to say, Bhartṛihari must have been more than 125 years old at the time of his death. The absurdity of this position will be sufficiently appreciated by Sanskrit scholars, now that I have stated my facts in full.

Mr. Telang's method of explaining Subandhu's allusions to the overthrow of Digambara Jainism by the Mīmāṃsâ sect will hardly commend itself to scholars who would look to Digambara literature itself and not to Mâdhava's Śaṅkaravijaya for an explanation of them. Besides this argument is vitiated by the gratuitous assumption that there were only three Mīmāṃsâ authors Jaimini, Śabarasvâmi and Kumârila and that as the two former authors do not allude to Jainism, Subandhu's allusions must be necessarily interpreted as referring to Kumârila. This conclusion is erroneous as it is deduced from a false premise. In point of fact there were five Mīmāṃsâ authors as we are told by Prabhâchandra, namely, Jaimini, Upavarsha, Śabarasvâmi, Prabhâkara and Kumârila. The last two authors are referred to in the *Ashtasahasrî* and the Jaina *Śloka-vârta* as the bitterest foes of Jainism. Vidyânanda represents Bhaṭṭa

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter on Pāṇinīyadarśana, p. 142.

⁶⁶ Mr. Telang's paper on Subandhu and Kumârila.

as refuting the views of Prabhākara, which shows the priority of the latter to the former. Govindânanda says that Prabhākara is frequently referred to in the Śārīrakabhāṣya.⁶⁷ He was as distinguished a Mīmāṃsaka as Kumârila; and both are known to have founded two schools of Mīmāṃsâ named after them,—the Prābhākara school and the Bhāṭṭa school. An interesting testimony⁶⁸ to the existence of both schools before the rise of Śaṅkara is furnished by his “grand-pupil” Sarvajñātmamuni. In view of these facts it is evident that Subandhu’s allusions must be explained as referring to Prabhākara and not to Kumârila because the latter cannot be assigned to any period anterior to 650 A. D. the date of Bhartṛihari’s death. It is clear, therefore, that the supposed allusions to Kumârila in the Vāsavadattâ are altogether illusory and owe their existence to a pure mistake. Nor does Mr. Telang seem to be aware of the fact that Śabaravâmi does attack Buddhism⁶⁹ and is himself criticised in Buddhist literature.⁷⁰

Mr. Telang says that if the allusions are not made out, still the conclusion based on them is correct, “Kumârila being a contemporary of Dharmakîrti, as we know from other evidence.” This “other evidence” is no other than that of Taranatha himself on which Mr. Telang has so often attempted to throw discredit; and yet this very evidence we are now asked to accept as the basis of his theory. His other arguments are also equally vague and unsatisfactory. He asserts that Pātaliputra was destroyed before 756 A. D., and that “we have no mention of this town in any work of ascertained date, subsequent to the time of Hiouen Thsang.”⁷¹ This statement is opposed to facts. Vidyānanda who lived in the first half of the ninth century says⁷² “a four-fold division of non-existence is admitted because we can form the conception that a certain thing did not exist before, &c.; why

⁶⁷ Śārīrakabhāṣya, Calcutta Ed., Chap. I., Sec. I., pp. 79, 88.

⁶⁸ ननु सदृशमिदं वञ्छायमस्मासु कस्माद्
विनिहितमुभयेषां पूर्वमीमांसकानाम् ।
अवगतिकृतमेतद्वाचकत्वं पदाना-
मवगतिरियमिष्टा नन्वरी तत्क्षणेन ॥

Śaṅkshhepaśārīraka, Chap. III., 243.

⁶⁹ Mīmāṃsābhāṣya, Bibl. Ind. Ed., p. 8.

⁷⁰ Dharmottaravṛitti, D. C. MS., No. 288 of 1873-74. p. 9.

⁷¹ Mr. Telang's Introduction to his edition of the Mudrârâkshasa, p. 15

⁷² Aṣṭasahasrī, palm leaf MS. of the Kolhapur Jaina Māṭha, p. 806. Pr. K. M., p. 96a

should we not similarly divide existence because we know that Pâtali-putra or Chitrakûta contains [a thing] &c.?" According to Brahmanamidatta Vidyânanda *alias* Pâtrakesari was⁷³ himself a native of Pâtali-putra, the capital of Magadha which was ruled by king Avanipâla. Vâchaspatimiśra,⁷⁴ Somadeva,⁷⁵ Amitagati⁷⁶ and a host of other authors mention Pâtali-putra.

His next argument is based on the mention of a Pûrṇavarmâ in the Śârîraka-bhâshya. Mr. Telang knows of only two Pûrṇavarmâs. One is the Buddhist king of Magadha who, in Mr. Telang's opinion, lived in the sixth century; and the other is the king mentioned in the Javanesse inscriptions. We are told that the Buddhist king is the one referred to in the above-mentioned work. Here Mr. Telang is met by the difficulty that a Buddhist king is not likely to be alluded to by a Brahminical author. How is this difficulty to be overcome? By assuming, says Mr. Telang, that Śaṅkara was contemporary with the Buddhist king of Magadha! This is simply begging the question.

The argument based on the Kongudeśarâjakal may be dismissed without ceremony as, Mr. Telang admits, the Tamil chronicle is supposed to be corroborated by copperplates which Mr. Fleet denounces as forgeries. Mr. Telang's last argument is that a commentary on the Sâukhyakârikâs of Îśvarakṛishṇa was translated into Chinese in the latter half of the sixth century, and that this commentary must be that of Gauḍapâda himself. That Gauḍapâda lived before Śaṅkara is a fact which nobody denies; whereas the view that he was Śaṅkara's

⁷³ Kathâkośa, Life of Pâtrakesari.

⁷⁴ Bhâmatî, Chap. I., sec. I. See my paper on Dharmakîrti and Śaṅkarâchârya. I may add here that Udayana is quoted by Amalânanda, Chap. II., sec. II. The date of Vâchaspatimiśra may be determined from the following table:—

Muñja, contemporary with Taila II.

|
Bhoja

|
Vâchaspatimiśra

|
Udayana

|
Amalânanda, contemporary with Yâdava king Kṛishṇa.

⁷⁵ Dr. Peterson's Report for 1883-84, p. 40. The date of the Yaśastilaka is Śaka 882.

⁷⁶ Deccan College MS., No. 513 of 1884-86, Dharmaparikshâ, p. 10a. The date of the work is Vikrama—Samvat 1070.

teacher's teacher is only supported by tradition. But my objection to this argument is that according to the Chinese scholar, Mr. Kasawara,⁷⁷ the commentary translated into Chinese, resembles that of Gauḍapâda but does not bear the name of that author; while if it should hereafter turn out to be true that Gauḍapâda's work was translated into Chinese between 557 and 583 A. D., this fact will furnish decisive evidence as to the age of that author but will not be relevant to the question of Śaṅkara's date because Śaṅkara cannot be referred to any period anterior to 650 A.D., the date of the death of Bhartrihari, whose critic Kumârila is referred to by Śaṅkarâchârya and actually quoted by Sureśvara.

I beg to be allowed to point out a few more facts which have failed to arrest Mr. Telang's notice. In support of his contention that Pūrṇavarmâ was contemporary with Śaṅkara, Mr. Telang says that he "would deduce that conclusion from the mere mention of Pūrṇavarmâ itself; there being no reason why a king who had ceased to reign should be preferred to one who was actually reigning." Now Sureśvara's pupil Sarvajñâtmanuni, who was removed from Śaṅkara himself by a single generation, explains the passage, of which Mr. Telang has made so much, by substituting Yudhishtira in the place of Pūrṇavarmâ:

विशेषणानामसति प्रवृत्ति-
 र्न दृश्यते कापि न युज्यते च ॥
 युधिष्ठिरात् प्रागभवन्नेन्द्रो
 बन्ध्यासुतः शूर इतीह यद्वत् ॥ २९० ॥

Śaṅkshepa-Śâfiraka, Chap. III.

I should not at all be surprised if a proposal were next made to make Yudhishtira contemporary with Śaṅkara or Sarvajñâtmanuni or with both; for in his last paper, Mr. Telang was not deterred from assigning to Bhartrihari's critic Kumârila a higher antiquity than can be claimed for Bhartrihari himself.

We are also told that "Śaṅkara had a positive reason for naming a living king as the least likely to be regarded as unreal among a people deficient in the historic sense." Here Mr. Telang distinctly

⁷⁷ India, what can it teach us? p. 367, note.

implies that the philosopher was far ahead of his age in the historic sense, despite the fact that he has failed to give the date of any one of the numerous works that he actually wrote. But Mr. Telang directly contradicts himself in his second paper entitled *Pûṇavarmâ*⁷⁸ and *Śaṅkarâchârya* where he remarks that the philosopher was deficient in the historic sense because he speaks of *Pûṇavarmâ*'s family as obscure. But the proposed identification of Śaṅkara's *Pûṇavarmâ* with the Buddhist king of that name is now untenable because it comes into direct conflict with the explicit statement of the Chinese traveller I-tsing that Bhartrihari, who, as I have proved, chronologically preceded Kumârila and Śaṅkarâchârya, died in the middle of the seventh century. Again Mr. Telang is hardly consistent when in his paper read before this Society on the 19th March 1889, he refers to Dr. Bhandarkar as an authority in support of his contention in complete disregard of the fact that the learned Doctor in his latest report published nearly two years before, that is, on the 5 October 1887, says that "Śaṅkarâchârya's usually accepted date is the end of the eighth century" and that "Kumârila has been placed a hundred years before."

Mr. Telang also tells us that "Śaṅkara's works contain no allusions suggestive of associations with men or things of the South." This, however, is not a fact as I have shown that Śaṅkara criticises the views of Kumârila, Samantabhadra and Dharmakîrti, authors who flourished in Southern India.⁷⁹ Śaṅkarâchârya borrows from Kumârila-bhaṭṭa a well known illustration of an elephant and an ant urged against the Jaina doctrine that the soul has the same size as the body.⁸⁰ Then again Śaṅkarâchârya never mentions the Śvetâmbara Jainas, but always speaks of the Digambara sect which flourished in Southern India.⁸¹ In his commentary on *Gauḍapâda*'s *Âgamakârikâs* he refers to the *Digvâsâḥ*⁸² and in the *Śârîraka-bhâṣya* he discusses the *Vivasana-mata*. The expression *Visichâm*, i.e., "of the Digambaras" is contrasted with *Raktapaṭânâm* i.e., of the "Bauddhas" in a well-known⁸³ passage which has been misunderstood and mistranslated

⁷⁸ Journal, B. Br. B. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 78.

⁷⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. IV., p. 365.

⁸⁰ Śârîrakabhâṣya, Ânandâśrama Edition, p. 567. *Tantravârtika*, p. 380.

⁸¹ Ratnanandi's *Bhadrabâhucaritra*.

⁸² *Gauḍapâda*'s *Kârikâs*, Ânandâśrama Edition, p. 200.

⁸³ Śârîrakabhâṣya, Ânandâśrama Edition, pp. 570.

by Dr. Thibaut in a volume which he has lately contributed to the Sacred Books of the East.⁸⁴

I have satisfactorily disposed of all Mr. Telang's arguments. I shall now recapitulate the points I have proved in the present paper. Hiouen Thsang left India in 645 A. D. Five years later died Bhartrihari the author of the *Vâkyapadîya*, whose renown as a grammarian was established in India nearly half a century later as we learn from I-tsing. The *Vâkyapadîya* of Bhartrihari is frequently quoted by Kumârila in his *Tantravârtika*. This last work must have been composed necessarily after Bhartrihari's fame was established. For these reasons I hold that Kumârila flourished after the two Chinese pilgrims Hiouen Thsang and I-tsing left India, that is to say, after 700 A. D. He flourished immediately before Akalaṃka, whom I have assigned to the second half of the eighth century, and whose pupil Prabhâchandra so frequently mentions the author of the *Tantravârtika*; in other words, Kumârila belongs to the first half of the eighth century.

The importance of determining the age of Kumârila, Akalaṃkadeva and Śaṃkarâchârya cannot be exaggerated. The Buddhist writer Târânâtha, the Jaina writer Brahmanemidatta and the Brahminical writer Mâdhavâchârya are unanimous in dating the decline of the religion founded by the sage of Kapilavastu, which proclaimed to the world the brotherhood of man, and which was a protest against the illiberal spirit displayed by the followers of the Vedic religion, from the appearance of those illustrious authors in Southern India. The age of Kumârila, Akalaṃkadeva, and Śaṃkarâchârya was an age that witnessed the overthrow of the Châlukya empire, and the rise of the Râshtrakûṭa dominion over its ruins; it was also an age that saw the brief splendour of the Mîmâṃsâ sect followed by a reaction in favour of Jainism, which reached its culminating point in the time of Amoghavarsha I., whose long and prosperous reign may be justly entitled the Augustan period of Digambara Literature.

⁸⁴ Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIV., p. 433.

ART. XVII.—*Transcripts and Translations with Remarks of Rāshtrakūṭa and Kalachuri Copper-plate Grants.* By DR. R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., C.I.E.

[Read, 30th July 1892.]

I.

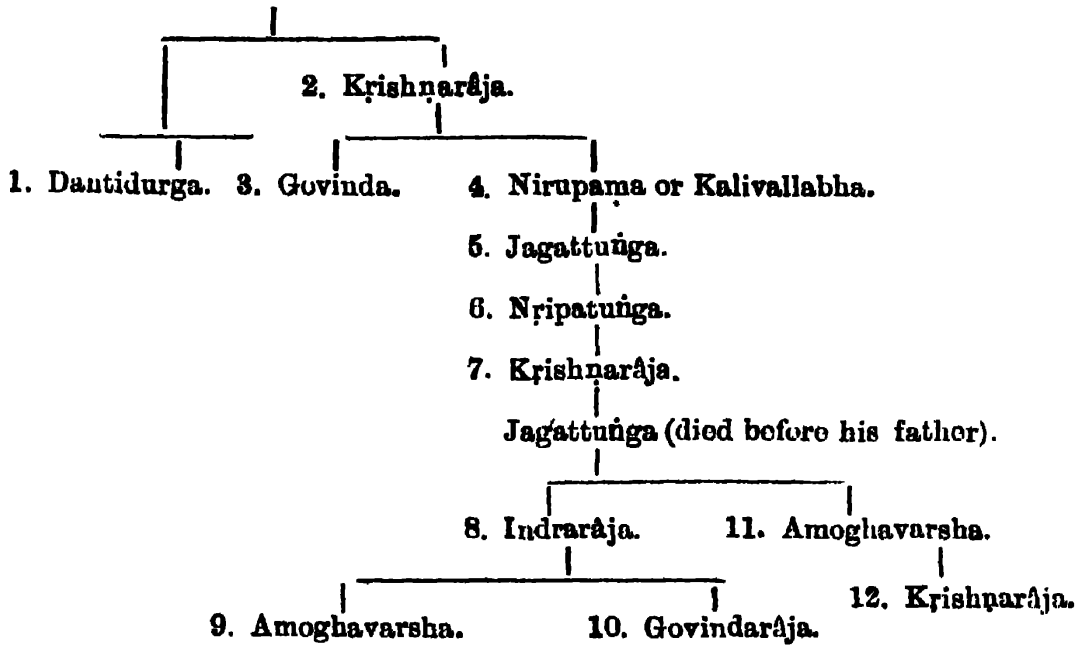
A Copper-plate Grant found near Wardha in the Central Provinces.

The Copper-plates, a transcript and translation of the inscription on which, I place before the Society to-day, were found in a well in Deoli, about 10 miles south-west of Wardha near Nagpur. Excellent impressions of the tablets were prepared by Dr. MacDonald, Superintendent of the Central Jail, Nagpur, and forwarded to the Society for being deciphered, by Mr. T. Drysdale, Deputy Commissioner of Wardha. The Secretary sent the impressions to me. I read them and communicated the contents to the Secretary, requesting him at the same time to ask the Deputy Commissioner to send over the original plates to us, as the impression was indistinct in a few places. These were kindly forwarded to us by that officer.

The plates are three in number, each being a foot in length and eight inches in breadth. The inscription is engraved on one side of the first plate, on both sides of the second, and on one side of the third. The letters are carefully and well formed in the first part, but in the latter, the work is negligently done. The seal bears a figure of Śiva.

The inscription is a charter announcing the grant of a village named Tālapurumshaka, situated in the district of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, to a Brahman named Rishiyappa or Rishiyapayya of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kaṇva, and Kata, and of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. The grant was made by Kṛishṇa or Akālavārsha of the Rāshtrakūṭa family in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga, while living at his capital Mānyakheta, in the year 862 expired, of the Śaka era, corresponding to 940 A. D.,

on the 5th of the dark half of Vaisâkha, the cyclic year being Śârvari. The genealogy of Kṛishnarâja is thus given :—



This grant clears up several doubts and difficulties as regards the genealogy of the Râshtrakûṭas. In the first place, the Râshtrakûṭa family is said to have sprung from the Sâtyaki branch of the Yâdava race. The genealogy begins with Dantidurga as it was he who acquired for his family the supreme sovereignty of Mahârâshṭra or Dekkan, the limits of which were the Narmadâ on the north and the Tuṅgabhadra in the south. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle Kṛishnarâja who is represented to have decorated the earth with many temples of Śiva which looked like the Kailâsa mountain. I have shewn in my *Early Dekkan History* that a temple of exceedingly great beauty was caused to be constructed at Ellora by this Kṛishnarâja; and my view that it was probably that known by the name of Kailâsa which he constructed seems to be confirmed by the comparison with the Kailâsa contained in this grant. The circumstances under which Dhruva Nirupama superseded his brother Govinda are distinctly given. Sensual pleasures made Govinda careless of the kingdom, and entrusting the affairs of the state to his brother he allowed the sovereign power to drop away from his hands. Nothing particular is stated about Govinda III. or Jagattuṅga. His son, known as Amoghavarsha, the great patron of Digambara Jainas, is called Nṛipatuṅga, which name is found in a Jaina work also.

The city of Mānyakheta, which, in one grant, is mentioned as simply flourishing in his time, is represented here to have been founded by him. His son, Kṛishṇarāja, who is also known by the name of Akâlavarsha, is spoken of as a powerful prince, and several particulars are given about him. He frightened the Gûrjara, destroyed the egregious pride of the Lâṭa, taught humility to the Gaudas, and his command was obeyed by the Andhra, the Kaliṅga, the Gâṇḍa, and the Magadha. As this Kṛishṇarāja was not the reigning prince, whom the writer of the charter might be suspected of flattering, and as the grant is not reticent about the faults also of some of the princes, this account may be relied on as true. Akâlavarsha is represented as a powerful prince in the Prasasti at the end of the Uttara Purâṇa of the Jainas also. The Lâṭa prince alluded to seems to have belonged to the Gujarat branch of the Râshṭrakûṭa family which was founded in the time of Govinda III. or Jagattuṅga who assigned the province of Lâṭa, that he had conquered, to his brother Indra. Akâlavarsha, the grandson of Jagattuṅga, seems thus to have humbled or uprooted his kinsmen of the Lâṭa country. Jagattuṅga was the name of Akâlavarsha's son, and from the mere fact of the mention of his name in the grants he was supposed to have been a reigning prince; and following others, I have stated in the English edition of my *Early Dehkan History* that he became king after his father. But from a number of circumstances it soon appeared to me that he could not have been an actual king, and in the Marathi edition of my work I have corrected the statement. This inference of mine has now been confirmed by the grant before us in which he is represented to have been "taken away by the Creator to Heaven without having succeeded to the throne, as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels" who had heard of his beauty. Akâlavarsha was thus succeeded by his grandson Indra, the son of Jagattuṅga. There has hitherto been some confusion as regards the next prince named Amoghavarsha who was the son of Indra. He is not mentioned by name or as a king in the Sâṅgalî grant of his brother and successor, but is noticed in the Khârepâṭan grant; while in the third and only other grant which gives us information about the two princes, there is a mistake which has led all writers on the subject to drop Govinda altogether, and regard Amoghavarsha as the only prince. But the grant before us clears the difficulty. Amoghavarsha is there spoken of as "having immediately gone to Heaven as if through affection for his father." He reigned therefore for a very short time, perhaps for a

few months or even days, and hence is not noticed in the Sāṅgalī grant. The next prince, Govinda, is of course highly praised in his Sāṅgalī grant. But the grant before us represents him to be a prince addicted to sensual pleasures, and to have died an early death on account of his vicious courses. The Khārepāṭan grant agrees with it speaking of him as "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and as surrounded by women." Our grant agrees also with that found at Khārepāṭan in representing his successor as a very virtuous prince. His name was Amoghavarsha, and he was the son of Jagattuṅga, and consequently the uncle of Govinda. He assumed the throne, being entreated to do so by the feudatory Chiefs, who thought there was none else able to maintain the power of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Khārepāṭan grant gives his proper name which was Baddiga. He was assisted in the government of the kingdom by his son Kṛishṇa who was engaged in wars with his neighbours and subjugated Dantiga, who probably was the ruler of Kāñchi, and Bappuka. He uprooted Rachhyāmalla and placed on the throne in the Gāṅga country (Vâtī, i.e., Gaṅgevâdī) a prince of the name of Bhûtārya. In an inscription at Ātakûr noticed by Mr. Rice¹ and recently published by Dr. Fleet,² one Bûtuga is represented to have killed a prince of the name of Râchamalla and to have made himself master of the Gāṅga country. Bûtuga assisted Kannaradeva, i.e., Kṛishṇa III., who is mentioned at the beginning of the inscription, in destroying Râjâditya, the Chola king, and received a reward from him. Bûtuga is elsewhere called Bûtayya³, and our Bhûtārya is a Sanskritised form of this, while our Rachhyāmalla is clearly the Râchamalla of the Ātakûr inscription. But in the latter, Kṛishṇa's connection with the destruction of Râchamalla, and the rise of Bûtayya, is not mentioned. The reason probably is that it was not necessary to state the fact in that manner. But there can be no question that Bûtayya was assisted by Kṛishṇa and owed his elevation to him, since in the fight with Râjâditya, Bûtayya acted as if he was his feudatory and received a reward as from a master. The Pallava that Kṛishṇa is mentioned to have subdued was probably the same as Dantiga, and Bappuka was perhaps another name of Râjâditya the Chola.

¹ Śravaṇa Belgola Inscriptions, p. 21.

² Epigraphica Indica, Vol. II., Part XI., p. 173.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 270.

On the death of Amoghavarsha, which seems to have taken place a short time before the date of this grant, Kṛishṇarāja ascended the throne. He was called Akâlavarsha also, as another prince of this dynasty bearing the name Kṛishṇa was. Here too the present grant clears up a difficulty. Misunderstanding a passage in the Karda grant, Kṛishṇa is made by writers on this dynasty to be an elder brother of Amoghavarsha, and another Kṛishṇa is brought in who is identified with one of his younger sons who never reigned but is represented to have reigned and is called Kṛishṇa IV. In my *Early Dekkan History* I have given the true sense of the passage and shewn the mistakes. The Khârepâṭan grant, which gives the true relationship, and is perfectly clear on the points, was disregarded. But now this grant confirms the account in the Khârepâṭan plates, so far as it goes, and, according to them both, Baddiga or Amoghavarsha had no brother of the name of Kṛishṇa who could have preceded or succeeded him; and that the king who preceded him was his nephew Govinda IV., and the Kṛishṇa, who succeeded him, was his son. There was no other Kṛishṇa who followed this last and could be called Kṛishṇa IV. according to any of our authorities.¹ Jagattuṅga, the brother of Kṛishṇarāja in whose name the grant of the village is made, must have died before him; for the latter was succeeded by Khottiga who appears to have been Kṛishṇarāja's step-brother according to the Karda grant; and he was followed by the son of his brother Nirupama. Jagattuṅga's name therefore does not appear in the subsequent history, but those of his brothers who were probably his step-brothers.

The name of the grantee ends in *appa* or *apayya* which shews that he was a Tailaṅga Brahman. He belonged to the Kânva school of the white Yajurveda, and even at the present day there are the followers of that school near Nagpur. The village Tâlapurumshaka, which was granted, was bounded on the east by another of the name of

¹ My correction of the mistake about the two Kṛishṇas was not noticed till very recently, though it was made more than eight years ago. For the Âtakûra inscription noticed above is on, the wrapper of Part X. of the *Epigraphica Indica* issued in August last referred to "the time of Kṛishṇa IV." I am, however, glad to see it has since attracted attention, and the mistake has come to be tacitly acknowledged as such. For in Part XI. of the same periodical issued in September last, only a month later, that same inscription is published as "Âtakûr inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa III."

Mādâvaṭaṭara, on the south by the river Kandanâ, on the west by the village of Mohama or Mohamagrâma, and on the north by Badhrîra. Of these, Kandanâ is the river Kanhana which has a course from the north-west of Nagpur to the south-east; Mohama or Mohamagrâma is the Mohgaon of the present day, situated in the Chhindwârâ district, about 50 miles to the north-west of Nagpur, and Badhrîra is Berdi in the vicinity of that town. Nothing corresponding to the remaining two names appears on the map, and I am not able to identify them.

I.

स जयति ज(?)गदुत्सवप्रवेशप्रथमपरः करपल्लवो मुरारैः । लसदमृतपयः क-
 णांकलक्ष्मीस्तनकलशाननलब्धसंनिवेशः ॥ जयति च गिरिजाकपोलविम्बादधिगतप-
 त्रविचित्रितासिभिन्तिः । त्रिपुरविजयिनः प्रियोपरोधाद्धृतमदनाभयदानशासनेव ॥
 श्रीमान्मस्ति नभस्तैलकतिलकस्त्वैलोक्यनेत्रोत्सवो देवो मन्मथबान्धवः कुमुदिनीनाथस्सु-
 धादीधितिः । निःशेषामरतर्पणार्पिततनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृतैर्यस्यांशः शिरसा गुणप्रियतया
 नूनं धृतः सं(शं)भुना ॥ तस्माद्विकासनपरः कुमुदावलीनां दोषाधिकारदलनः परिपूरिताशः । ज्ये-
 स्त्नाप्रवाह इवद्वर्षितशुद्धपक्षः प्रावर्त्तत क्षितितले क्षितिपालवंशः ॥ अभवदतुल-
 कान्तिस्तत्र मुक्तामणीनां गण इव यदुवंशो दुग्धसिन्धुयमाने । अधिगतहरिनीलमो-
 ल्लसन्नायकश्रीरशिधिलगुणसंगो भूषणं यो भवोभूत् ॥ उद्धृतैदित्यकुलकन्दलशान्तिहेतुस्तत्रा-
 वतारमकरोत्पुरुषः पुराणः । तद्वंशजा जगति सार्यक्रिगर्गभाजस्तुंगा इति क्षितिभुजः प्रथिता-
 बभूवुः ॥ क्षितितलतिलकस्तदन्वये च क्षतरिपुदान्तिषट्पदोऽजनिष्ठ रट्टः । तमनु च सुतराष्ट्रकूट-
 नान्ना भुवि विदितोऽजनि राष्ट्रकूटवंशः ॥ तस्मादरातिनितानुकुचचारुहारीहारभानुरुदगा-
 दिह दन्तिदुर्गः । एकं चकार चतुरब्ध्युपकण्ठसीम क्षेत्रं य एतदसिलांगलभिन्नदुर्गः ॥ तस्मा-
 दपालयादिमां वसुधां पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः शरदभ्रशुभ्रेः । यत्कारितेश्वरगृहैर्बसु-
 मत्यनैकैलासशैलनिचितैव चिरं विभाति ॥ गोविन्दराज इति तस्य बभूव नान्ना सुनुस्त भो

II. first side.

गभरभङ्गुरराज्यचिन्तः । आत्मानुजे निरुपमे विनिवेश्य सम्यक्साम्राज्यमीश्वरपदं शिथिलीचकार ॥ ज्ञे-
 तातपञ्चत्रितयेन्दुबिम्बलीलोदयाद्रेः कलिवह्णभाख्यात् । ततः कृतारातिमदेभभंगो जातो जगत्तुंग-
 मृगाधिराजः ॥ तत्सूनुरानतनृपो नृपतुंगदेवः सोभूत्स्वसैन्यभरभंगुरिताहिराजः । यो मान्यखे-
 टममरेन्द्रपुरोषहासि गीर्वाणगर्वाभिव खर्व्वयितुं व्यधत्त ॥ तस्योत्तोज्जतगूर्जरो हतहटल्लाटो-
 द्रटश्रीमदो गौडानां विनयव्रतार्पणगुरुस्सामुद्रनिद्राहरः । द्वारस्थाधकलिंगगंगमगध-
 रयश्चि[च्चि]ताज्ञश्चिरं सूनुस्सूनुतवाग्भुवः परिवृढः श्रीकृष्णराजोभवत् ॥ अभूज्जगत्तुंग इति प्रसि-
 द्धस्तदंगजः स्त्रीनयनमृतांशुः । अलब्धराज्यः स दिवं विनिये दिव्यागनाप्रार्थनेयव धात्रा । त-
 न्नन्दनः क्षितिमपालयदिन्द्रराजो यद्रूपसम्भत्तपराभवभीरुणेव । मानात्पूरै-
 व मदनेन पिनाकपाणिक्कोपाग्निना निजतनुः कृ(क्रि)यते स्म भस्म ॥ तस्मादमोघवर्षो(र्षो)
 रौद्रधनुर्भगज्जनितबलमहिमा । राम इव रामणीयकमहानिधिर्दशरथाज्जातः ॥ क्षिप्रं दि-
 वं पितुरिव प्रणयाद्रतस्य तस्यानुजो मनुजलोकललामभूतः । राज्यं दधे मदनसौख्य-
 विलासकन्दो गोविन्दराज इति विश्रुतनामधेयः ॥ सोध्यंगनानयनपाशनिरुद्धबुद्धिरुन्मा-
 र्गसंगविमुखीकृतसर्व्वसत्त्वः । दौषप्रकोपविषममकृतिश्चथांगः प्रापक्षयं सहजतेज-
 सि जातजाड्ये ॥ सामन्तैरथ रट्टराज्यमहिमालम्बार्थमभ्यर्थितो देवेनापि पिनाकिना हरिकु-
 ल्लेहासौषिणा प्रेरितः । अध्यास्त प्रथमो विवेकिषु जगत्तुंगालम्बोमोघवाक्पेयूषाब्धिः

II. second side.

रमोववर्षेनृपातिः श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ॥ श्रीकृष्णराजदेवस्तस्मात्परमेश्वरादजनि सूनुः ।
यः शक्तिधरः स्वामी कुमारभावेप्यभूदुवने ॥ श्रीरट्टराज्यपुरवररक्षापरिखं(खां) मदेन य-
स्याज्ञां । विपुला विलंघयन्तः स्वयमपतं(तन्) द्रोहिणोधस्तात् ॥ येन मथुकैटभावि पुनरुन्म-
त्तौ जनोपमर्द्दाय । श्रीवल्लभेन निहतौ भुवि दन्तिगवणुकौ दुष्टौ ॥ रछयामल्लविषट्टममुद-
स्य निहितेन योक्त सनाथां । भूतार्यपुण्यतरुणा वाटीभिव गोगपाटीरे ॥ परिमलिवा(ता?)ण्ठि-
गपल्लवविपत्तिरासीन्न विस्मयस्थानं । विस्फुरति यत्प्रतापे शोषितविद्वेषिगांगैषिव यस्य
परुषेक्षिताखिलदक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य । गलिता गूर्जरहृदयात्कालंज-
रचित्रकूटाशा ॥ अनमन्नापूर्वापरजलनिधिहिमशैलसिंहलद्दीपात् । यं जन-
काज्ञावशमपि मण्डलिनश्चण्डदण्डभथा(या)त(त्) ॥ खिग्धश्यामरुचा प्रलम्बभुजा(ज)या पीनायतोरस्कया
मूर्त्यै(र्त्यौ) श्रीचिलताहितामृतजलैर्वृत्तैश्च सत्त्वोद्भवैः । ज्ञात्वा यं पुरुषोत्तमं भरसहं विस्वं(श्वं)भग-
भ्युद्धतौ शान्ते धान्नि लयं गतः) प्रशमिनामाद्यः कृतार्थः पिता । वृत्ते नृत्तसुरांगेन सरभसं
दिव्यर्षिदत्ताशिषि श्रीकान्तस्य नितान्तभाषितहरे राज्याभिषेकोत्सवे । यस्यावद्धकरग्रहोद्य-
मभक्तं पानुरागोदयादिकन्याः स्वसमर्पणार्थमभवल्लभानुक(कू)ल्यामियाः ॥ स च परम-
भट्टारकमहासत्ताधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवपादानुद्धया(ध्या)तपरमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीष(श)र्व-
प्रेय(प्रिय?)नरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वाके(ने)व स्वज्ञानपदान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्य-

III.

[खे] टराजधानीस्थितेन शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु द्विषष्ट्यधिकेषु शान्वरिसं-
वत्सरान्तर्गतैवशाखत्रहुलपणच(ब्ब)भ्यां मम प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियतमस्य कर्नीयसो भ्रातुः श्रीम-
ञ्जगन्तुंगदेवस्य पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ॥ अपि च ॥ ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि कुर्वता निरुपमां भोक्तुं जितो
लक्ष्मणः सौन्दर्येण मनोभवः सुचरितैरामस्स धर्म्मस्मज्ज (:) । कान्या शीतरुचिश्च येन सततं शौर्ये-
ण सिंहो जगन्तुंगस्यास्त्वभिवाञ्छितप्रदमिदं तस्येति दानं भुवः ॥ अनेनाभिसंधिना मया नन्दि-

[.]

वर्द्धनविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोत्रवाजिकाण्वकता (कात्य ?) स ब्रह्मचारिभाइल्लसुतेवेदेवाग-

पारगारिलि (षि) यप्पाय नागपुरनन्दिवर्द्धनान्तर्गततालपुरुषं कनामा ग्रामः सेंद्रिगः स-

परिकरः सधान्यहिरण्यदेयः सदण्डदोषदशापराधः सव्वोत्पत्तिसहितः

पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुःसीमपर्यन्तः । ब्रह्मदायन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कनमस्यो दत्तः । य-

स्य पूर्वतः मादावटटरनामा ग्रामः । दक्षिणतः कन्दना नदी । पश्चिमतः मोहमग्रामः । उ-

त्तरतः बध्रीरमाम एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं तालपुरुषं कं रिषियपथ्यस्य कृषतः कर्षयतो

भुञ्जतो भोजयतो वा न केनचिद्व्याघातः कार्यः । यश्च व्याघातं करोति स पणच(ब्ब)भिरपि महा-

पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यात् ॥ अन्यच्च (?) ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । स विष्टायां कृभि-

र्भन्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । स-

र्वानेवं भाविनः पाथिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ चैत्रानन्वेरस्य भ्रात्रा योग्राष्ट्ये-

नं लिखितमिति ॥

TRANSLATION.

Triumphant is the leaf-like hand of the enemy of Mura (Vishṇu), which, being placed on the jar-like breasts of Lakshmi marked by particles of nectar-water, and on her face, proclaimed the entrance of the world on a joyous festival. And triumphant is the rampart-like shoulder of the conqueror of the three cities or of Tripura (Śiva), which is adorned by the colored figures impressed on it by the [close contact of the] cheeks of the daughter of the Mountain (Pârvatî), and which thus bears as it were through a regard for his beloved an edict promising safety to the god of Love. There is the glorious god, the only ornament of the surface of the sky, the delight of the eyes of the three worlds, the friend of Love, the lord of the night-lotus plants, whose rays are full of nectar, whose diminished form, owing to his having given up his body for the gratification of the gods, is his ornament, and a part of whom is worn on the head by Śambhu—verily on account of his love for virtues. From him sprang forth on earth a race of princes like a stream of moonlight, which extended the series of the joys of the world as that blows open the series of night-lotuses, which destroyed the darkness of sin as that destroys the darkness of night, which spread in all quarters (as that does), and which had unblemished adherents as that constituted the light half of a month.¹ From that race which was like an ocean of milk arose the family of Yadu, like a necklace of pearls, which like it had a matchless splendour, the leadership of which was gracefully borne by the dark-complexioned Hari when he flourished, as the beauty of the central gem in that is borne by a sapphire when it is put in, which had indelible virtues, as that is firmly interwoven with a string,² and which was the ornament of the world. In that family, the eternal Being became incarnate to destroy the crowds of Daityas who had grown tumultuous; and members of that family belonging to the Sâtyakin clan became celebrated princes, because they were great. From that race sprang Rattâ, the ornament of the surface of the earth, who killed the arrays of the elephants of his enemies; after him the Râshṭrakūṭa

¹ The epithets here are used in two senses, one of which is applicable to the family of the moon and the other to the moonlight.

² The epithets अधिगतहरिनीलमोलसजायकश्रीः and अशिथिलगुणसंगः have two senses, one applicable to the family of Yadu and the other to the necklace of pearls.

family became known in the world by the name of [his] son Rāshṭra-kūṭa. From that [family] arose DANTIDURGGA, who was a sun to the fog in the shape of the charming necklaces on the breasts of the wives of his enemies, and who having broken the unevennesses by a ploughshare in the shape of his sword, made this one field with the shores of the four oceans for its boundaries. After him, his paternal uncle, King KRISHṆARĀJA, protected this earth, by the temples of Śīvara (Śiva) constructed by whom the earth shines for ever as if decorated by many Kailāsa mountains. He had a son of the name of GOVINDARĀJA. Sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, and entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose. From him who was called Kalivallabha, and who was the sportive rising mount of the moon in the shape of the triad of the white umbrellas, was born Jagattuṅga, the lion who destroyed the maddened elephants of his enemies. His son, to whom kings bowed, and who tortured the king of serpents by the heavy mass of his army, was that lord NRIPATUNGA who founded Mānyakheta which laughed down [to scorn] the city of the Indra of the gods, in order as it were to humble the pride of the gods. His son, the prosperous KRISHṆARĀJA, became for a long time the lord of the earth, who spoke pleasant words, frightened the Gūrjjara, destroyed the egregious pride generated by prosperity of the arrogant Lāṭa [king], was the preceptor who charged the Gauḍas with the vow of humility, and deprived the people on the sea coast of their sleep, and whose command was honoured (obeyed) by the Andhra, the Kalinga, the Gāṅga, and the Magadha waiting at his gate. He had a son, known as Jagattuṅga, who was a nectar-rayed [moon] to the eyes of women. He was taken to heaven by the creator without his having got the kingdom as if through the solicitations of the heavenly damsels. INDRARĀJA his son protected the earth; it was from a fear as it were of the indignity likely to be caused [in future] by his beauty that the god of Love, even before, reduced his body to ashes through pride by means of the fire of the wrath of the wielder of the Pināka (Śiva). From him was born AMOGHAVARSHA, as Rāma was from Daśaratha, the greatness of whose power was shewn by the breaking of a terrible bow, as that of his was by the breaking of the bow of Rudra¹ and who (like him) was the great store-house of beauty. He having

¹ रौद्रधनुर्भग has two senses.

immediately gone to heaven, as if through affection for his father, his younger brother, the ornament of the world of men, and the source of the sportive pleasures of love, known by the name of GOVINDARĀJA, ruled the kingdom. And he, too, with his intelligence, fettered by the chains of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; and his limbs becoming enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of the maladies, and the constituents of the [political] body becoming non-coherent, as the subjects were discontented through the aggravation of the vices,¹ and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralized, he met with destruction. Then the King AMOGHAVARSHA, son of Jagattuṅga, the first among the thoughtful or wise, the sea of the nectar of whose words was unfailing, being entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rāṭṭas and also prompted by the god, the wielder of the Pināka (Śiva), who desired the prosperity of the family of Hari (Kṛishṇa), ascended the throne of heroes. From that sovereign lord was born a son, the King KRISHṆARĀJA, who, though a boy, exercised power in the world and was the lord, and was verily Kumāra, Śaktidhara, and Śvāmin.² His enemies transgressing his command which was the wide moat that protected the great city in the shape of the sovereignty of the Rāṭṭas, themselves fell down. He, Śrī-Vallabha, killed on this earth the wicked Dantiga and Bappuka, who were as it were Madhu and Kaiṭabha, again grown insolent for the torment of men. He planted as it were in a garden in the field of the Gāṅgas the holy tree of Bhūtārya, having uprooted the poisonous tree of Rachhyāmalla. While his prowess which was like heat and which destroyed numbers of Gāṅgas his enemies, as that (heat) dries up the stream of the Ganges, was glowing, what wonder is there if the Pallava Anṭhiga (Dantiga?) who was beaten was reduced to a sad condition as fragrant leaves are by heat³? On hearing of the conquest of the strongholds in the south simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa dropped away from the heart of the Gūrjjara. All the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the

¹ The epithet दोषप्रकोप &c., has two senses, one physical and the other political. So also तेजस् in सहजतेजसि is to be taken in two senses, one fitting with the physical interpretation and the other with the political.

² These are three of the names of the god Kārtikeya. The words are to be interpreted also in their ordinary sense as above.

³ There is a play here on the words "Gāṅga" and "Pallava."

Himâlāya to the island of Simhala bowed to him from the fear of being severely punished, though he himself was obedient to his father. By his bodily form, which had a dark glossy colour, long arms, and broad and massive chest, and by his virtuous deeds, which were the nectar-water that fed the creeper in the shape of his fame, knowing him to be an excellent man (or Vishṇu) to deliver the earth (or bring out the submerged earth), his father, the best of sages, who had attained the object of life, vanished into the peaceful abode. When the festival consequent on the coronation of the beloved of Śrī (prosperity), who had greatly frightened Hari (husband of Śrī), in which celestial damsels danced, and the heavenly Rishis pronounced their benedictions was over, the quarters as girls, which began to tremble at his preparation to exact tribute, as those should manifest love and tremor at his preparation to take their hand, became pleasing to him in consequence of their observing the proper time for paying it of their own accord, as those should be dear in consequence of their keeping to the auspicious juncture for giving themselves.¹ He, the King Akālavarshadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, a great devotee of Maheśvara, Pṛithvivallabha, the favourite of Śarva (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of the prosperous Amoghavarshadeva, the highest lord, the sovereign lord of kings, the highest ruler, being well, commands the men of his country: “Be it known to you, that for the enhancement of the holy fame of my younger brother, Jagattuṅgadeva, who is dearer to me even than my life, I have, living in the capital Mānyakheta, granted on the fifth of the dark half of Vaisākha of the year Śārvari, when eight hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, with the feeling that this grant of land may fulfil the wishes of Jagattuṅga, as if it were his,—Jagattuṅg, who has surpassed Lakshmaṇa, by serving his eldest brother with incomparable devotion, the god of Love by his beauty, and Rāma (and) the son of Dharma by his good deeds, the cool-rayed (moon) by his lustre, and the lion by his bravery—to Rishiyappa, originally living in Nandivardhana, belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, student of the Vedic school of Vāji, Kaṇva, and Kata, the son of Bhāilla, and conversant with the Vedas and the subsidiary treatises, the village of Tālapurumshaka, situated in Nāgapura-Nandivardhana, along with what is set aside and the appurtenances, with the assessment in grain

¹ Two senses here throughout.

and gold, with the flaws in the measurement, (measuring rod) and mishaps (due to fortune),¹ with all its produce, up to its four previously known boundaries, and to be respected as long as the sun and the moon last, in the manner of a Brahman-gift. To the east of it is a village of the name of Mādāvatātara, to the south the river Kandanā, to the west the village of Mohama, [and] to the north the village of Badhrīra. No one should obstruct Rishiyapayya while he cultivates Tālapurumshaka having these four boundaries, or causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it to be enjoyed; and he who will obstruct will incur the five great sins. Moreover:—‘He who takes away the land that has been given away by himself or others, becomes a worm in ordure and wallows there along with his ancestors. Rāmabhadra again and again entreats future kings that they should from time to time protect this bridge of virtue which is common to all kings.’ ” Engraved by Yogrāhṭya, the brother of Chevānavera.

II.

Two sets of Copper-plates from the Navsari District, marked A and B.

These sets were forwarded to the Society by the Baroda Government and made over to me for transcription and translation. On reading them I found they were the same as those shewn by the Baroda Divan to Mr. H. H. Dhruva. Mr. Dhruva published a transcript of them with remarks in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, Vol. XL., but did not give a translation. I have got Mr. Shridhar R. Bhandarkar to prepare one for this paper, and now submit it to the Society.

Each of the plates is 13 inches long and 9 broad. As in the case of the Wardha plates, the first has the inscription on one side, the second on both, and the third on one. The seal has the figure of Śiva on it.

¹ This, I think, is the proper translation of the phrase सद्गुणदोषदशापराध or सद्गुणदोषदशापराध, which occurs in almost all grants, but the correct or appropriate sense of which does not seem to have been yet found out. By inserting this expression the grantor absolves himself from all responsibility about loss consequent upon a mistake in the measurement and upon changes due to adverse natural occurrences or the “doings of God” as they are called.

Each of these sets records the grant of a village to a Brahman, made by Indra, the son of Jagattuṅga and grandson of Kṛishṇa or Akâlavarsha of the Râshtrakûṭa dynasty of Mânyakheta, on the seventh of the bright half of Phâlguna, when 836 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The grantee in B. is a Brahman, of the name of Siddhapabhaṭṭa, son of Vennapa Bhaṭṭa of the Lakshmaṇa Gotra, and student of the Mâdhyamîna School of the Vâjasaneyā or white Yajurveda; and the village conveyed is Tenna in the Lâṭa country. In A. the grantee's name is Prabhûkarabhaṭṭa, son of Rânapabhaṭṭa of the same Gotra and Veda as the other, and the village conveyed is Umbarâ in the Lâṭa country. The Râshtrakûṭas belonged, according to this charter also, to the Sâtyaki branch of the Yâdavas, and the genealogy given in it begins with Dantidurga, the first paramount sovereign of the dynasty. He was succeeded by his uncle Kṛishṇa. The name of Kṛishṇa's immediate successor, Govinda II., is omitted, undoubtedly because, as stated in the Wardha grant, he was addicted to sensual pleasures and left the government to his brother Nirupama. Nirupama's exploit, given in other grants, is mentioned here also,* viz., his having captured the white state umbrella of the king of Kosala and another of a northern prince. This northern prince was the king of the Vatsas whose capital was Kauśâmbî, the modern Kosam, near Allahabad. Dhruva Nirupama was followed by Jagattuṅga, of whom the only thing said is, that he honoured the Brahmans. His son, who is elsewhere known by the name of Amoghavarsha and Nṛipatuṅga, is here called Śrî-Vallabha. He is represented to have re-established the glory of his family which had been diminished by the Châlukyas, and to have parched or fried the Châlukyas, as if they were grains of gram. These Châlukyas must have been the Eastern Châlukyas of Veṅgi. His son, who succeeded him, was Kṛishṇarâja, elsewhere called Akâlavarsha and Śubhatuṅga. Of his fights with the Gûrjara, old men used to say when there were heavy showers and rainbows during the rainy-season, "thus did he in anger draw his bow which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, and thus did he rain down his arrows." If in 836 Śaka, the date of the grant, it was old men that thus described his wars, with the Gûrjara king, those wars must have taken place about twenty-five or thirty years before 836 Śaka. Akâlavarsha, we know from other sources, came to the throne about 797 Śaka.

Kṛishṇarāja had a son of the name of Jagattuṅga who married Lakshmi, the daughter of Raṇavighraha, son of Kokkalla, king of Chedi. The issue of this marriage was Indrarāja, whose other name was Nityavarsha. He is represented to have meditated on the feet of the glorious Akālavarsa and not on those of his father Jagattuṅga. As this expression is used with reference to the immediate predecessor on the throne of the reigning king, Indra succeeded his grandfather and not his father. And his inference is, as we have seen, confirmed by an express statement in the Wardha grant. Indra residing usually at his capital Mānyakheṭa, had, when he made these two grants, gone to Kurundaka for the festival on account of his Paṭṭabandha, which probably was the coronation festival. On that occasion he weighed himself against gold and gave away twenty lacs and a half of dramma, and granted Kurundaka and other villages, and restored four hundred others, which had been confiscated by previous princes.

The fact that Indra, the reigning sovereign at Mānyakheṭa, granted villages in the Lūṭa country and not a member of the Lūṭa branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family which was founded in the time of Govinda III. and of which we have several grants, raises the presumption that that branch had ceased to exist or been put an end to before this time. The earliest grant of that branch, known as the Baroda grant, is dated Śaka 734, and was issued by Karka, the son of Indra, who was the first Lūṭa prince or chief.¹ The second is that known as the Kāvī grant which was issued by Govinda, the son of Karka, and is dated Śaka 749.² The third is another Baroda grant, dated Śaka 757, and issued by Dhruvarāja, the son of Karka, the brother of the last Govinda.³ The fourth is that issued by Dhruva, the grandson of this Dhruvarāja and dated Śaka 789.⁴ The fifth is in my possession. It was issued in the same year as the fourth by Dantivarman, the brother of Dhruva. Up to the description of Dhruva it agrees almost word for word with the fourth. The sixth was issued in Śaka 810 by Kṛishṇa* or Akālavarsa, who appears to have been a son of Dantivarman.⁵ We have no grant of

¹ *Bengal Asiatic Society's Jour.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 292-303; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII., p. 162.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 144 and ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV., p. 196 and ff.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII., p. 179 and ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII., p. 65 and ff.

a later date of any prince of this family; but the next Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa grant is that issued by a vassal of Kṛishṇa II. or Akālavārsha of the main branch or by Kṛishṇa II. himself in Śaka 832.¹ And in the grants before us we have his grandson and successor assigning villages in the same country in the year Śaka 836. It would thus appear that the province of Lāṭa was resumed by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta after 810 Śaka and before 832, i. e., in the time of Kṛishṇa II. or Akālavārsha. And this is confirmed by what we find stated in the Wardha plates, where Kṛishṇarāja or Akālavārsha is represented to have "put an end to the arrogance of the lord of Lāṭa." And from the grants, No. 4 and No. 5, we see that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa were not on terms of peace with their kinsmen of the main branch. One of them, Dhruva, who issued the second Baroda grant of Śaka 757, is represented in those grants to have been killed in a battle with Vallabha, and his son to have recovered his lost kingdom. This Vallabha must have been Amoghavarsha I., the son of Govinda III.

The village Tenna is identified with Tena which is situated in the Navsari district, and Umbarā may be the modern Bagumbra, with the prefix Bag.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p. 52 and ff.

B.

I.

ॐ स्वस्ति । स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दु-
 कलया कम्प-
 लंकृतम् ॥ जयति विबुधबन्धुर्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलवि-
 लोलकौस्तुभः कंस[के]
 तुः । मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपारिताम्य-
 तारकास्ते कटा-
 क्षाः ॥ स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धृतदुर्द्धरारिचक्रः ।
 अपहृतबलिम-
 ण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ अस्ति श्रीनाथना-
 भिस्फुरदुरुसरसांभोज-
 जन्मा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादग्निः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द इन्दुस्ततोपि ।
 तस्माद्वंशो यदूनां
 जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विलासैः शाङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानां नयन-
 कुवल्यै-
 रर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
 नृपतिः
 पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलघेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र-
 करलाह-
 नमाजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्द्य
 च मध्यदेशं ।
 यस्यासमस्य समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः काण्ची(ञ्ची) पदे पदमकारि
 करेण भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सा-
 नुवमप्रबलकपिकुलोल्लूखल्लुल्लवङ्गादाकैलासाङ्गवानीचलचरणरण-
 नूपुरो-
 न्नादितान्तात् । यस्याज्ञां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालाय-
 मानामानमैरु-
 त्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन
 पुनर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं
 विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः ॥ तत्राभवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः
 श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-

तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभङ्गलीलायमानघन-
विस्तृतकान्तकी-

II.—First side.

तैः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिण्योस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो निरवय-
शौर्यः ॥ कीर्त्तेः (तैः) कु-

न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितौ लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विला-
सकमलं पूर्णै-

न्दुबिम्बद्युति । एकं कंषितकोसलेश्वरकरादाछिन्नमन्यतुनयैर्नोदी-
च्यनराधिपाद्य-

श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लेभे जगत्तुङ्गो जन्म सम्मानिताद्विजः ।
सोपि श्रीवल्ल-

भं सूरुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ निमग्ना यश्चलुक्क्याब्धौ रट्टराज्यश्रियं
पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धर-

न्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलितस्तम्बान्दण्डेनानीतक-
ण्टकः । योदहद्दे (ह्मे)-

षिणश्चण्डचलुक्क्याश्चणकानिव ॥ उच्चैश्चलुक्क्यकुलकन्दलकालकेतो-
स्तस्मादकृ-

णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसकृञ्जनेन कीर्त्तिः
परि-

भ्रमति यस्य शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं व्या-
कृष्टमी-

दृग्धनुः क्रुद्धेनोपरि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासा-
रिणि सेन्द्रचापव-

लये यस्येत्यमन्दागमे गर्जद्गूर्जरसंगरव्यतिकरं बीर्णो जनः
शन्स (शंस) ति १॥ अ-

जनि जमितभंगो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगन्तुं-
गदेवः । ध्वजसर-

सिजशंखमोलसच्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वैष्णवो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥
आसीत्कोप्यथ

हेहयान्वयभवौ भूपः सहस्राब्जुनो गर्जद्गूर्जयरावणोज्जितलसदो-
ईण्डकण्डूह-

रः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसा यत्कीर्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः
सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखि-
तैर्व्यासाः ककुभिस्तयः ॥ वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोकलभू-
पात्मजो राजा श्री-

II.—Second side.

रणविग्रहस्समभवच्छेदीश्वरः कीर्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरन्धिमण्ड-
नमुषः रा(स)र्वोपि पृथ्वीप-
तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयातिविकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकल-
गुणगणाब्धेर्विष्णु(स्फु)रद्वाम-
धाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमु-
देन्दुः सुन्दरीचित्तहारी
हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां बभूवुः देवः ॥ चतुरदधितटान्तख्यातशौ-
र्ध्वं ताभ्यामभव-
दरिचरद्वो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां
सकलजनशरण्यः पु-
ण्यलवण्यराशिः ॥ देवो यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भ-
रामाक्रामनिब्रविक्रमेण स-
म्भूत् श्रीकीर्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः
समं विद्दिषां
देव्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनासि च भयं सेवाजलिं मौलयः ॥ कृतगोवर्द्ध-
नोद्धारं हेलो-
न्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥
सकलजनम(न)मस्यः
सोऽथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान(न्) । उपरि
परशुरामस्यैक-
कुप्यामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिष्णस्त्यागकीर्त्तौ बभूव ॥ स च परमभट्टा-
रकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेश्वर-
श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकान्नाष्ट-
पतिविषयपतिप्रम-

कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संवि-
दितं यथा श्रीमान्य-

खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्सवाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया
मातापित्रोरात्म-

नश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्य-
न्दिनसब्रह्मचा-

III.

रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गतश्रीवेणपभट्टमुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदे-
शान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्ज-

समीपे तेननामग्रामः यस्य पूर्वतो वारङ्गालिका दक्षिणतो नाम्भी-
तटाकं पश्चिमतो वली-

शा उत्तरतो वथियणग्रामः एवमाषाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्तोद्वंगः
सपरिकरः सदण्ड-

दशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्य[दे]योभ्यन्तरसि-
द्धयाशकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सर-

शतेष्वष्टासु षट्द्विंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने
श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्स-

वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामान-
न्यान्यपि पूर्वपृथ्वीपालवि-

लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रम्मलक्षैस्सार्द्धैः सह विमुच्य
बलिचरुवैश्वदेवामि-

होत्रातिथिसंतर्पणार्थमद्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदाय-
स्थित्या

भुञ्जतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केन-
चिदल्पापि परि-

पन्थना कार्या तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-

मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विसे(शे)षोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः यश्चान्नाना-
होपयति स पंचभिर्महा-

प्रातर्कैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गौ तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छे-

त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ अमेरुष्यं प[म]थमं
 सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च वा-
 वः लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्दि दत्तं यः काचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
 कालेकाले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
 श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन वैमादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता द्यस्ता प्रशस्तेय-
 मिन्द्रराजाघ्रिसेविना ॥ श्रीः

A.

1.

स्वस्ति । स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाधिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
 कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ जयति
 विबुधबन्धुर्विष्णुविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोलकौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः ।
 मुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृ-
 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ स जयति
 भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समर-
 समुद्रतदुर्धरारिचक्रः । अपहृतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र-
 इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥
 अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदुरुसरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभू । स्तस्मादत्रिः
 सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्प-
 न्द इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्मादंशो यदूना जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्तै-
 र्विलासैः शार्ङ्गि गोपाङ्गनानान(नां न)
 यनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार ॥ तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा
 श्रीदन्तिदुर्गनृप-
 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्य
 शंखचक्रकरलाञ्छन-
 माजगाम ॥ कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारि जघन्यभागे स्वैरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्श
 च मध्यदे-
 शं । यस्यासमस्य[स]मरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे पदमकारि करेण
 भूयः ॥ आसेतोः सानुव-
 प्रमबलकपि[कुलो]लूनफुल्लवज्रादाकैलासाद्रवानीचलच[र]ण-
 रणनूपुरोच्चादितान्तात् ।

यस्याङ्गा भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालायमानामानवैरुत्त-
 माङ्गैरवनितल्लुठङ्गा-
 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ जित्वा जगन्निबभुजेन पुनर्निजमीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतु-
 मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तच्चा-
 भवत्परमधाम्नि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः प्रथितमतापः ।
 दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र-
 भङ्गलीलायमानचनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलं-
 करिणोस्तस्मादभू-
 चिरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्यः ॥ कीर्तिः कुन्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान-
 कुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः

II.—first side.

लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णैन्दुबिम्बद्युति । एकं कंपित-
 कोसलेश्वरकरादान्छिन्नमन्यत्यु-
 नयैन्नेदीच्यनराधिपायश इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ तस्माल्लेभे जगत्तुंगो
 जन्म सम्मानि-
 तद्विजः । सोऽपि श्रीवल्लभं सूर्यं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ निममां यश्च-
 लुब्धयाब्धौ रट्टराज्याश्रि-
 यं पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्धीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ समूलोन्मूलि-
 तस्तम्बान्दण्डेनानी-
 तकण्टकः । योदहरे (हरे) षिणश्चण्डचलुब्धयाश्चणकानिव ॥ उच्चैश्च-
 लुब्धकुलकन्दलकालके-
 तोस्तस्मादकृष्णचरितौजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसकृ-
 ज्जनेन कीर्तिः परिभ्र-
 मति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ उद्यद्दीधितिस्तन्नालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमी-
 दृग्धनुः । कुण्डेनोष-
 रि वैरिवीरशिरसमिव विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि सेन्द्रचाप-
 वलये यस्ये-
 त्यमब्दागमे गर्जद्गूर्जरसङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः शंस (शंस)
 ति ॥ अभनि जनि-
 तभङ्गो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्तुंगदेवः । ध्वज-
 सरसि-

जशंखमोलसच्चक्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥

आसीत्कोप्य-

थ हैहयान्वयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्जदुर्जयरावणोज्जितलसदो-
ईण्डकण्डू-

हरः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसा यत्कीर्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः
सान्द्रसुधारसेन लि-

खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्धितयः ॥ वंशे तस्य सपन्नवंशपरशोः कोकल-
भूपात्मजो राजा श्रीर-

णविग्रहः समभवच्छेदीश्वरः कीर्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंधिमण्डनमुषः
सर्वोपि पृथ्वीप-

तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ सकलगु-
णगणाब्धेर्विष्णु(स्फु)रद्धा-

मधाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदे-
न्दुः सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

II.—Second side.

हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्सुमदेवः ॥ चतुर्दधितटान्तख्यातशौर्योथ
ताभ्यामभवदरि-

घरट्टो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सक-
लजनशरण्यः पु-

ण्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च बिम्बं नव-
नलिनमृणालं चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मानिर्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्टमानन्दि-
वेधाः ॥ देवो

यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामनिबविक्रमेण समभूत्
श्रीकीर्तिनारा-

यणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं विद्दिषां दैन्यं
ब्रक्त्वरुचो मनांसि च भ-

यं सेवाजलिं मौलयः ॥ कृतयोवर्दनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।
उपेन्द्र-

मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ सकलजननमस्यः सोथ
कृत्वा नमस्या-

भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहारान् । उपरि परशुरामस्यैककुग्रामदान-
स्फुरितगुणगारिष्णस्यागकीर्त्या बभूव । स च परमभट्टारकम-

हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व-
 रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
 श्वर-
 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानेव
 यथासंबध्य-
 मानान् राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्त-
 रादी-
 न्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्यखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना
 श्रीप-
 ट्टबन्धाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक-
 पुण्य-

III.

यशोभिवृद्धये । लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यान्दिनसब्रह्मचारिणे
 राणपभट्टसुताय
 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लौटदेशान्तर्गतकम्मणिज्जसमीपे उम्बरा नाम ग्रामः
 यस्य पू-
 र्वतः तोलबकं दक्षिणतो मोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तरतो
 ज्वलकूपकमे-
 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः
 सोत्पद्यमान-
 विष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यदेयोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः
 शकनृपकाला-
 तीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्ध-
 सप्तम्यां संपन्ने
 श्रीपट्टबन्धोत्सवे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादी-
 न्ग्रामान्
 अन्यान्यपि पूर्वपृथ्वीपालविलुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशति-
 द्रम्मलक्षैस्सा-
 र्वैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिसंतर्पणा-
 र्थमा(म)-
 योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायास्थित्या भुञ्जतो भोजयतः
 कृषतः
 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदत्यापि परिपंथना कार्या
 तथागामिभिरस्म-

दंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयम-
स्मद्ब्रह्मदायानुमन्त-

व्यः यश्चाज्ञानाल्लोपयति स पंचभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं
च भगवता व्यसेन ॥

षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ सा-

मान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वाने-
तान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्

भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
सूनुना । कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्रीः

TRANSLATION.

B.

May he (Vishṇu) protect you, the lotus springing from whose navel was made his abode by Brahman, and [may] Hara too [do the same] whose head is adorned by the beautiful crescent of the moon. Victorious is he who has Kāṁsa for his banner (i.e., noted for his destruction of Kāṁsa) [Kṛishṇa], the friend of the gods, on whose chest, broad as the Vindhya [mountain], dangles the pure Kaustubha, and on whose lotus-like face, the stage, dance the sidelong glances of Lakshmī with the pupils dulled from the weight of love. Ever victorious is the Upendra-like Indrarājadeva, the *nṛsiṁha* (the lion among men; Vishṇu in one of his incarnations), in whose strong arms rests Lakshmī, who has rooted out in battles the circle of enemies difficult to withstand, and who has done away with the *balimaṇḍala* (the array of the mighty; Bali and his circle). The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the expansive fresh lotus springing from the navel of the lord of Lakshmī. Of him was born the son Atri, and of Atri again [was born] the moon, who sends forth nectared rays, and out of him grew on the earth the dynasty of the Yadus, in which [at one time] moved Kṛishṇa who was worshipped by the cowherds' wives with the lotuses, their eyes, accompanied with various blandishments. To that family belonged the *Purushottama* (the best of men; Vishnu), King Dantidurga, born in the wide Sātyaki branch, to whom of herself came Lakshmī from the ocean of the Chālukya family, marked as his hands were with a conch and a disc (two of the things by the possession of which Vishṇu is marked; auspicious marks on the palms of the hands resembling these objects);

whose hand, matchless in battle that he was, having first established itself on the beautiful *jaghanyadeśa* (the region of the hips; lowermost country) of his wife, the earth, and again pressed down tenderly at its will the *madhyadeśa* (waist; the country between the Himâlaya and Vindhya Mountains), again established itself on the *kāñchîpada* (the region below the waist where the girdle is worn; province of Kāñchî); whose orders all the kings obeyed with bowed heads and with knees bent to the ground, from the Setu (bridge), the blossoming *lavaṅga* trees on the grounds on the summit of which are deflowered by hosts of big monkeys, up to Kailâsa, the regions of which are noisy from the sounding *nîpuras* on the moving feet of Bhavânî, the orders forming the wreath on their heads with which come in contact their joined hands. When the king, after having conquered the world by means of his arm, had gone to heaven, as if to conquer it, being desirous for a fresh victory, his paternal uncle, king -Krishṇarâja, of well-known prowess, filled his refulgent throne. Of him, whose thick, wide and brilliant fame looked on the faces of the quarters, the women, like sandal-wood decorations, and who adorned the mountain, the family of the Râshṭrakûṭas, was born Nirupama of spotless valour, who in battle snatched away from the hand of the trembling lord of the Kosalas one white umbrella (of royalty), which was glory itself as it were; which was the white auspicious pot for the starting of his fame, white as the kunda flower, on a journey to all the worlds, which was the sporting lotus in the hands of Lakshmî, and had the beauty of the full-moon; and another from a king of the Northern People. Of him had birth Jagattuṅga, who honoured the Brahmans, and he in his turn had for his son Śrîvallabha, the king of kings, who, the wise one, while raising again the glory of the Raṭṭa kingdom, which had been drowned in the Chalukya ocean, appeared like Vîranârâyaṇa raising the earth; who parched up (or fried) like gram his enemies, the fiery Chalukyas, having plucked out their stalks from the roots and having threshed out by means of *daṇḍa* (a stick; punishment) the *kaṇṭakas* (thorny substance; obnoxious persons). Of him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain-tree, the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Kṛishṇarâja of unspotted life, whose fame, white as the moon, ranges over the world, though constantly drunk by people by means of the cavities of their ears; the occurrence of whose

thundering fights with the Gûrjjara old men describe on the arrival of the rainy season of heavy showers and rainbows by saying, "Thus did he in anger draw his bow, which was covered over with a network of jewels darting forth rays, thus did he rain down his arrows on the heads of his warrior enemies." Of him was born Jagattuigadeva, who broke up the host of his enemies, who brought low the beauty of Madana, who has on (the palm of) his hand a discus shining in the midst of a banner, a lotus and a conch, who by his greatness surpassed Vishṇu, and who was the beloved of the soldierly Lakshmî. There was a king (by name) Sahasrârjuna, born in the Haihaya family, who quieted the itching of the powerful and throbbing arms of the thundering and unconquerable Râvâṇa, and by writing with thick nectar the letters setting forth whose name and fame, which found a resting-place in the ears of the gods, the walls in the shape of the quarters were filled up by the Siddhas. In the family of him, who was a hatchet to the families of his enemies, there was the famous king Śrîraṇavîgraha, the son of king Kokkalla and lord of Chedi, into the *maṇḍala* (the circle of feudatory princes) of whom, thief as he was of the decorations of his enemies' wives, entered every *vikala* (ruined) lord of the earth on the occurrence of his *pakshakshaya* (ruin of his followers) as the *vikala* (waned) moon enters the *maṇḍala* (disc) of the sun on the occasion of his *pakshakshaya* (the end of the [bright] fortnight). He, who was an ocean of the whole collection of virtues and was the dwelling place of brilliant lustre, had a daughter, Lakshmî, who was *kalitakamalapāṇi* (having lotus-like hands; having a lotus in her hands). Jagattuigadeva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race and the ravisher of the hearts of women, married her like Hari himself. From them sprang Raṭṭakandarpadeva (the lord, who was the cupid of the family of the Raṭṭas), whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was the grinding stone to his enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, and who was a refuge to all men and a store of heavenly beauty; the lord, who overrunning by his valour the earth beautified by its girdle, the four oceans, became Vîranârâyaṇa, and on hearing of whose birth the beauty of the faces of his distressed enemies came by pallour, their minds by fear, and their heads by their joined hands (indicative) of servitude, all at the same time; who, the Indrarâja, rooting out Meru with ease, was not surprised at his (thus) surpassing Upendra

(Vishnu) who lifted Govardhana. Worthy of the homage of all men, the lord of the world by making numerous grants to gods and Brahmans, which were to be respected (by all), surpassed by the fame of his charity Paraśurâma, who owed the (fame of the) greatness of his virtues (charity) to his gift of one wretched village. That lord of the kings of men, the glorious Nityavarsha, the highest lord, the king of great kings, the highest ruler, meditating on the feet of the glorious Akâlavarsha, the highest lord, the king of great kings and the highest ruler, commands, being in the enjoyment of good health, all governors of districts and subdivisions, the heads of villages, the employés and holders of offices, great men, &c., so far as they are concerned with these orders: Be it known to you that I, who live in my capital Mânyakheṭa, and have come at present to Kurundaka for the festive occasion of my coronation (?), have, on the completion of the coronation ceremony, after weighing myself against gold and without coming down from the pan, given away, together with 20 lakhs and a half of *drammus*, Kurundaka and other villages and 400 villages besides confiscated by previous kings, given away by pouring water, for the enhancement of the religious merits and fame in this world and the next of my parents and myself, on the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Phâlguna, in the year Yuvan, when 836 years have passed after the time of the Śaka king, the village called Tenna, in the vicinity of Kammanijja, in the country of Lāṭa, to Siddhapabhaṭṭa, the son of Vennapabhaṭṭa and inhabitant of Pâṭaliputra, a student of the Vâjasaneyi Mâdhyamîdina Śâkhâ, of the gotra of Lakshmana; to the east of which (village) lies Vâraḍapallikâ, to the south the lake Nâmbhî, to the west Valîśâ, and to the north the village of Vathiyana, that he might by its means perform the rites of Bail, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra and hospitality—this village which is thus marked off by these four boundaries, with whatever stands on the land, and with appurtenances, with the flaws in the measurement and the mishaps, with whatever might be raised on the land by labour, and the revenue in grain and gold. Therefore, no one should in the slightest degree obstruct him while enjoying and allowing others to enjoy this in the manner of a Brahman-gift, while cultivating or allowing others to cultivate it or conveying it to anybody else. In the same manner the good kings of the future, whether of my family or of any other, bearing in mind that the fruit of the gift of land is common (to all kings), should respect this gift of mine exactly

as they would their own. He, who through ignorance takes it away, incurs the five great sins. Indeed, the blessed Vyâsa says: "The grantor of land dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years; while he who resumes it, or approves of its being so resumed, dwells in hell for as many years. Gold is the first child of Agni (fire), land is Vishnu's, and cows are the daughters of the sun; he, who gives gold, a cow and land, makes a gift of the three worlds." "This bridge of religious merits (*viz.*, making gifts of land) common to kings should at all times be respected by you," so prays Râmabhadra again and again to all the great kings of the future. This praiseworthy charter was composed by Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nemâditya, the servant of the feet of Indrarāja.

A.

Portions additional to, or differing from, B.

II. b. l. 3-4. मदनममृत^c With the insignificant remnants of the materials of whose creation did Brahmâ verily create other delightful things, *viz.*, Madana, the disc of the moon dropping drops of nectar, the young lotus stalk, sandalwood and moonlight.

II. b. l. 12. श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभ. The beloved one of the earth and of Lakshmi.

III. b. l. 1-3. लक्ष्मणगोत्राय, &c. The village called Umbarâ in the vicinity of Kammanijja, in the country of Lâṭa, to Prabhâkarabhaṭṭa, the son of Rânapabhaṭṭa and a student of the Vâjasaneyi Mâdhyamindina Sâkhâ, of the gotra of Lakshmana; to the east of which (village) lies Tolajaka, to the south Mogalikâ, to the west the village of Saṃkî, and to the north the Javala well.

III. l. 5. पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः excluding the previous gifts to gods and Brâhmans.

A. om. लोकत्रयं—दद्यात्.

A. om. दास्ता and इन्द्रराजांघ्रिसेविना.

III.

A Copper-plate grant from the Belgaum District.

The next set of three copper-plates, a transcript and translation of which I place before the Society, was put into my hands to be used for historical purposes by my friend, Mr. D. R. Natu, LL.B., who is a pleader in the District Court at Belgaum. It was in the possession of the Desai of Kokahnur, a large village about 12 miles to the south-east of Athni, which is a taluka station in the Belgaum District.

Each of the plates is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and about 9 inches in breadth. The lines are engraved breadth-wise; and we have the inscription on one side of the first plate, both sides of the second, and one side of the third. The seal has the figure of a bull. The nasals in the body of a word are uniformly marked by an anusvāra, as we do at the present day, and ँ always appears in the form of ञ. The Sanskrit of the grant is excellent, including the prose portions, and the poetry is full of very extravagant conceits which mark a further progress in the degeneration of taste. The name of the composer was Ādityadeva, pupil of Śrīpāda, who calls himself "the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in matters of learning."

The inscription records the grant of land measuring four ¹ Nivartanas to each of fourteen Brahmans, and a rice-field measuring one Nivartana and a flower-garden of an equal area to the god Someśvara for purposes of daily worship in the village of Baṭṭachi in the Kaṇaivade country by Soma, the son of Vijjaṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty of Kalyāṇa. The grant was made on Thursday, the 12th of the bright half of Kārttika, in the year 1096 of the Śaka era, corresponding to 1174 A.D., the cyclic year being Jaya. Here I find, instead of the usual expression, "years elapsed since the time of the Śaka king" or "the era of the Śaka king," occurring in the earlier grants, simply "in Śaka 1096," which shows that the word Śaka had about the end of the eleventh century of that era lost its original signification of "a particular race of foreigners" and come to signify an era generally.

"The Kalachuri family is," it is stated, "famous in the three worlds as a mine of Kshatriya jewels." That it was one of the leading royal families of the Middle Ages is undoubted. The kings of Chedi, with whom the later Rāshtrakūṭa princes of the Dekkan were connected by marriage, belonged to it. Their capital was Tripura, the modern Tevur, near Jabalpur, and they held a strong fortress named Kālāñjara. The branch to which Soma belonged appears to have been very unimportant. The first person mentioned in the grant before us is Kṛishṇa. He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and he by his son Parmardin. Parmardin's son was Vijjaṇa who raised the family to importance. All these chiefs must have been dependents of the

¹ Nivartana is defined as equal to 80 daṇḍas or poles. But a pole is taken to be equal to 10 cubits or 7 cubits. The daṇḍa in this grant is called Māḍadaṇḍa, and probably had its own measure.

Châlukyas of Kalyâna. Vijjâna had attained to the position of Daṇḍanâyaka or Minister of War under Tailapa II., and while he held that office he rebelled against his master and assumed supreme sovereignty. He is represented in the grant before us to have fought with the Pândya, the Chola, the Vaṅga, and the Mâlava. Vijjâna was succeeded by his son Soma, upon whom the grant bestows the most extravagant and bombastic praise, making him out to be a paragon of all human and soldierly virtues, and as the wisest and most powerful sovereign. But herein we see the anxiety of the composer to show off his own "paramount sovereignty in the domain of learning," to which he laid a claim, and to please the reigning monarch, and not his desire to pourtray the truth. And there is not a single particular fact mentioned in the whole passage. But from every indication it appears that the Kalachuri princes of Kalyâna were never able to consolidate their power; they had not succeeded even in completely dispossessing their masters who still held sway over a part of the country; and the dynasty after a troublous and precarious existence for about 25 years became extinct.

There is a village of the name of Baḍachi, in the vicinity of Athṇi, about four miles to the north-west of Kokahnur, which in all likelihood is the Baṭṭachi of our grant. About 24 miles to the north-west of Athṇi is a village of the name of Kaṇavaḍi, with a population of nearly 3,000 persons, which closely corresponds to the Kaṇaivade of our grant, and possessed probably in those days sufficient importance to give its name to the country or province.¹

A grant, dated 1105 Śaka, by another or the last prince of this dynasty, Singhanadeva, the brother of our Soma, was brought to notice by Dr. Fleet in 1875, and published in the *Indian Antiquary*. The composer of it is the same person as that of ours. The first verse in it does not occur in the present grant; but the next eleven stanzas are exactly the same and occupy the whole of our first plate. Then omitting a further eulogy of Soma, which fills the first side of our second plate, the writer proceeds to his next brother who succeeded him. This grant was, it will be seen, issued 9 years after ours.

There is one remarkable circumstance concerning the grant before us which deserves notice. It was at the instance of a woman that king Soma made the grant. In the audience-hall, where were

¹ All this local information I owe to Mr. Nattu.

assembled eminent and influential men of his and of other kingdoms, and persons proficient in the arts of music and dancing and men of taste were gathered together, and instrumental music was going on, she sang a beautiful song in a most skilful manner and obtained from the king, who was very much pleased, as a reward, his consent to give the land in charity, and granted it herself on the occasion; but afterwards got the king to do so more formally in the usual manner. She is represented to have been dearer to the king than his own life. If so, the question is whether she was his mistress or a married queen. In the first place, the title Devî is affixed to her name and she is called Sâvaladevî. This title cannot be given to a mistress. In a Śloka quoted in the Kâvyaprakâśa, we have: "Now that she (a certain woman) has been raised to the dignity of a Devî, how can she remain in the position of, i. e., be used as, an attendant." Similarly, in the play of Mâlavikâgnimitra, when the chief queen Dhârîṇî is going to give Mâlavikâ in marriage to the king, the Vidûshaka on behalf of the latter requests Dhârîṇî to confer on her the title of Devî before she could be accepted, and it is given to her in all formality. The title Devî, therefore, is applied to queens only. Again, Sâvaladevî was, according to the grant, Tilottamâ herself in beauty, the very Sarasvatî in singing, and Pârvatî in *Saubhâgya*. *Saubhâgya* is a word peculiarly used in the case of a woman, and signifies her good fortune in having her husband living and enjoying his kind regards. At the same time, being compared with Pârvatî in this respect, Sâvaladevî must have been a married queen, since Pârvatî was the married wife of Śiva. We are also told that "Sâvaladevî's father was Mailugi, and her mother Malhaṇî; and in consequence of the virtuous deeds of these two meritorious persons, such a jewel as Sâvaladevî was born. Her sister was one Bâvaladevî, the store of beauty and grace, and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the musical instruments, especially on the Brahmavîṇâ, and was skilled in beating time." Now, if Sâvaladevî had been a mistress, all these her relations would not have been brought in to share her disgrace. And persons in that position are generally illegitimate children; wherefore we should not expect a mention of the father's name in such cases. Besides, the whole matter about her asking the king's consent to give land in charity only as a reward, and making him grant it formally after she had herself done so first, points to her position as a wife. There is, therefore, no

doubt that Sāvaladevi was a married queen of Soma; and, if so, we have evidence here that in the last quarter of the twelfth century of the Christian era, music and dancing formed a part of the education of Kshatriya girls, and that a married Kshatriya woman could be present at an assembly of eminent men and sing before them without impropriety. The strict purdah system, which the Maratha princes and chiefs observe at the present day, and which even the most highly educated among them have not the courage to give up, did not exist in those days.

I.

ॐ स्वस्ति । निर्विघ्नं पातु विश्वस्य गोप्ता स धरणीधरः ।
 धर्मद्रुहां दमयिता देवस्त्यागचतुर्भुजः । अस्ति क्ष-
 त्रियरत्नानामाकरः सागरायते ॥ कुलं कलचु-
 रीत्याख्यं विख्यातं भुवनत्रये । तदन्ववाये राजाभूत्कृष्णः कृ-
 ण्ण इवापरः । अपि बालस्य चरितमद्भुतं यस्य गीयते । स जोगम-
 महीपालं कालं वैरिमहीभुजा । वीरेकवन्द्यमहसां पात्रं पुत्रमजी-
 जनत् । दाक्षिण्यजलधेस्तस्मात्क्षीरोदादिव चन्द्रमाः । अजायत
 जगत्कांतः परमर्हिमहीपतिः । तस्मान्मेरोरिवाशेषव्यापि-
 नां तेजसा निधिः । उदितः सुभटादित्यो विज्जणः पृथिवीपतिः ॥
 स च । आचक्राम न कां दिशं न बुभुजे कं देशमुन्मूलयांचक्रे कं
 न (न) रिपुं बभार न रिपूनप्याश्रितान्कानिह संचिक्ये न धनानि कानि
 न ददौ किं दानमीजे मखैः कैर्नायं गुणरत्नरोहणगिरिः श्री-
 विज्जणक्षमापतिः । चांड्यं पांड्यस्त्यजति भजते चोलभूपश्चलत्वं
 भंगं वंगः सरति भरते मालवः कालशंकरः । भूपाश्चान्ये जै(ज?)यति
 जगतीं विज्जणक्षोणिपाले किन्नो (किं नो) दुर्गे जहति जिहते कां दि-
 शं कांदिशीकाः । सर्वाशातिमिरं नुदन्मुकुलयन्सर्वद्विषदूभुजा ह-
 स्ताभोजततीर्जगद्बलयन्सर्वं स्वकीत्योजसा सर्वोर्वीधरमूर्द्धी-
 ठनिहितश्रीपादरम्योदयो राजा सोम उदैत्कलानिधिरितः पू-
 र्णस्फुरन्मंडलः । वार्ता कैवरणोच्छ(त्स)वेषु निमदद्देरीरवे, भैरवे
 दूष्येषु दुष्पणाहतेरपि कृतैस्तैः कालकोलाहलैः यथात्रा-

सु विदुर्बुधै रिवः के देशकोशत्यजः केषां वा न विदीर्य-
ते स्म हृदयं मूर्च्छानिमीलदृ(ष्ट)शां । हेलहेषितनादभारभरिता
दीर्णा यदष्टौ दिशो धूताश्वाश्वखुराहतैः परिचलत्कीला
यदष्टौ नगाः । तत्तादृगिपुराजवीजदहनप्रस्थानवेलास्थि-
तिं जानीते यदि शेष एष सुकृती भूभारसर्वसहः । यत्र पितरी-
व पातारे यम इव यंतरि जनो हि दंडधरे लोकहयोचितानां सौ-

II.—First side.

ख्यानां पारदृक्वाभूत्ः (1) यस्योदग्रपराक्रमस्य सत-
तं दिग्जैत्रयात्रोत्सवे स्वःसिधोस्तटिनीति नाम घ-
टयत्यन्वर्थमेतद्रजः । त्वंगत्तुंगतुरंगनिष्ठुरखुरप्रक्षे-
पविक्षोभितक्षोणीपीठहठप्ररूढमचिरात्ताम्यत्स्वरांशुदु-
ति । यस्य च अप्रतिमसाहसस्य । भूभृन्मूर्द्धसु लीनवत्यासिलता-
धाराधरे दुर्द्धरे धारासारपुरःसरं विगलिताः कीलालकूलं-
कषाः । तासु द्वैपकरोटिनौभिरसुहृन् (चु) ट्यदुज्जारित्रकैर्धाम्य-
नेष मदांधभूतनिवहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति । यस्योदारगु-
णोन्नतस्य जरयत्याकाशगंगामदं हर्षं प्रोच्छति देवदंति-
दशनच्छायाकदंबोद्वतेः । कैलासस्य भियं पिपति जन-
यत्यातंकमिंदोरपि क्षीराब्धेरपि कौतुकं वितनुते नित्या-
वदातं यशः । संज्ञा(ना)होन्नतवीरवेषसुभगं दृष्ट्वैव यस्याद्भुतं रू-
पं तादृगवक्रविक्रमनिधेरारादमी विद्विषः । रोमांचादिभि-
राप्नुवंति दशमीं भविरवस्थामितः स्त्रीवत्तत्कृतमो न वेद त-
दिदं लोकोत्तरं पौरुषं । व्याप्तिं दोर्व्वलसार्वभौमयशसः
किं ब्रूमहे यन्महेशानोपि स्वयमीश्वरो नहि तनूरष्टौ विवेक्तुं
निजाः । लोकाः किं च हसंति संप्रति परे चाद्रं मदोत्सेकतः क्षी-
रोदेन समं च किं च कलहायन्ते षडप्यब्धयः । यस्यासिधारां धा-
रां च वीरे वितरणेथ वा । कृतकृत्या न के जाताः प्राप्य प्रत्यर्थिनो-
र्थिनः । गगनादपि निःसंगमुदधेरपि दुर्गमं । यत्साहसमनौप-
म्याद्दृष्ट्वंत उदासते । यशःप्रशस्तयो यस्य याः सतां चित्तभि-
न्तिषु । न मांति मांति ताः कुत्र दिक्षु वा गगनेथवा । इमं तमिति
किं ब्रूमः सर्वमाक्रामति स्म यः । निधिः स तेजसां देवः कं देशं

नाश्रुते करैः । वर्त्तमानेषु का वार्ता यस्मिन्निश्वस्य गोप्तरि । ता-
दृशः क्षत्रियो लोके न जातो न जनिष्यते । तस्य गीतकल्य-

II.—Second side.

मौढिचमत्कारहृत्तन्मनः । राज्ञः सावल-
देवीति प्राणेभ्योपि प्रियाभवत् । गंगाप्रवाह-
वद्यस्याः शारीरामृतमुज्ज्वलं त्रिमार्गशुद्धमाह्लादि सर्व-
पापक्षयावहं । रूपे तिलोत्तमा सैव सैव गीते सरस्वती ।
सौभाग्ये पार्वती सैव त्यागे कल्पलता स्वयं । यत्पिता मै-
लुगिर्नाम यन्माता मल्हणीत्यभूत् । तयोर्गुणवतोः पुण्यै-
रीदृग्रत्नमजायत । यस्या वाच(व?)लदेवीति रूपसौभाग्ययो-
निधिः । भमिनी गीतनृत्यमिदिकलाकौशलशालिनी । यञ्जा-
ता भैरवो नाम यन्त्रे गात्रे कृतश्रमः । विशेषाद्ब्रह्मवीणायां
तालमानविचक्षणः । सा कदाचिदतिमौढगायनगाय-
नी वांशिकवैणिकमार्दलिकपाणविकादिगाधर्वसं-
प्रदायनिर्भरे महास्थाने भरतादिकलाकुशलेषु भावकर-
सिकरंजकेषु स्वमंडलपरमंडलप्रधानवु(पु)रुषेषूपविष्टेषु आ-
हितस्थानप्राप्तितारमंद्रव्यवस्थस्य प्रकटितस्फुरितकंपिता-
दिसप्तविधगमकस्य स्फुटललितकोमलपदस्यासंकेति-
तनियुक्तस्य गाणगलपाशाभिधानस्य ध्रोच्च(व्व?)ड(ड?)स्य गानात्य-
रितुष्टस्य नलनहुषभरतभगीरथप्रभृतीनपि पुराणपुण्य-
क्षत्रियान्वीरवितरणादिभिर्गुणैः प्रगुणैरतिशयापस्य म-
हाराजस्य पारितोषिकलब्धया परस(म)यानुमत्या प्रशस्ते दे-
शे काले स्वयं दत्तमपि षण्णव्यधिकसहस्रतमे शके ज-
यसंवत्सरे कार्तिकशुक्लद्वादश्यां बृहस्पतिवाररेवती-
नक्षत्रव्यतीपातयोगवचरणयुक्तायां सर्वविद्या-
निधिभ्यः सदाचारपरिपूतेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यश्चतुर्द-
शब्राह्मणेभ्यः कण्वडेदेशांतर्गतवट्टचिनामधेये

III.

ग्रामे माडदंडेन चत्वारि चत्वारि निवर्तनानि
देवदेवाय च श्रीसोमनाथाय नित्यपूजानिमित्तं

निवर्तनमेकं कलमक्षेत्रं तावतीं च पुष्पवाटिकां
 राज्ञा राजकीयैरप्यनंगुलिमेक्षणीयं (मक्षेपणीयं) सर्व्वनमस्यं कृत्वा
 तेनैव महाराजाधिराजेन परमभक्तिश्रद्धापूतमनसा पुन-
 र्ध्वारापूर्व्वकं दापितवती । अस्य च धर्मस्य रक्षणे कलामिति
 ह स्माहुः प्राचस्तपोमहिमसाक्षात्कृतधर्मगतयो महर्षे-
 यः । बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं । धनं धान्यं हिरण्यं च रत्नानि
 विविधानि च । दानान्यन्यानि राजेन्द्र ददाति वसुधां ददत् । अ-
 मिष्टोमादिभिर्यज्ञैर्यजन्ति सदक्षिणैः । प्राप्नुवंति न
 तत्पुण्यं भूमिदानाद्यदाप्यते । विपर्यये च त एव विपरीत-
 फलमाप्नासिषुः । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां षष्टिं
 व(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः । परदत्तां तु यो भू-
 मिमुपहिंसेत्कदाचन । स वद्धो वारुणैः पासैः (शैः) क्षिप्यते पूयशोणिते ।
 अत एव च तत्र भवद्विभ्यां (व्यां) सपरास (श) रप्रभृतिभिः साक्षात्कृतस-
 कलधर्मतत्त्वैकान्यदर्शिभिः महर्षिभिः प्रणीतासु सतीष्वपि
 स्मृतिषु साक्षादेव श्रुतिषु चोच्चावचासु धर्मोपदेशाय जागरू-
 कासु पुनरपरितोषानि (नि) जसदाचारोदाहरणदर्शनेन सर्वासाम-
 प्यमूषां मानुषीणां प्रबानामबोधाधतमसापनिनीषया लोकस्य
 भाग्येनावतीर्णः स्वयमेव भगवान्नारायणः श्रीरामनामधेयः
 स्वनिर्मितस्यापि धर्मस्य कालांतरेऽन्यथाभावशंकातंकतरालितो
 विनयोदारमधुरया संक्षिप्तसुभगया सरस्वत्या भविष्यतः क्षत्रियश्रो-
 त्रियान्साजलिबंधमेवमभ्यर्थयाचक्रे ॥ सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपा-
 णां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेताभ्याविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भू-
 योभूयो याचते रामश्च (चं) द्रः । शक्तिव्युत्पत्तिसंपन्न (न) विहच्छ्रीपादसै-
 विना । रचितादि-
 त्यदेवेन सेर्यं शासनपद्धतिः । कृतिरियं त्रिभुवन । व(वि)द्याचक्रवर्त्तिनः श्रीम-
 दादित्यदेवस्यः । मेबलमहाश्री ॥

Welfare! May the God, the protector of the Universe, the support
 of the earth, and the chastiser of the enemies of virtue, who has
 four hands for giving, protect safely! There is a family known by

the name of Kalachuri, famous in the three worlds, which is as it were the ocean being a repository of jewels in the shape of [excellent] Kahatriyas. In that race flourished a king [named] Kṛishṇa, who was as it were another Kṛishṇa, and whose wonderful deeds, done when he was but a child, are sung. He gave birth to a son, king Jogama, who was death to inimical princes, [and] the receptacle of prowess which is admired by heroes alone. From him who was the ocean of civility, was born king Paramarddi[n], charming to the world, as the moon is from the ocean of milk. From him, as from the Mera, rose king Vijjana, the sun in the shape of a good soldier and (like the sun) the store of glory which pervaded everything. What quarter did king Vijjana, the mountain on which jewels in the shape of virtues grew, not overrun? What country did he not enjoy (rule over), what enemy did he not extirpate? What enemies who had sought an asylum with him did he not protect? What kind of wealth did he not accumulate? What gift did he not give, what sacrifices did he not perform? When king Vijjana was conquering the world, the Pāṇḍya gave up his fierceness, the Chola king took to his heels, the Vaṅga fled away, the Mālava suspected him to be Death himself; and what stronghold did other kings not leave, and what quarter did the cowards not fly to? From him rose king Soma the moon, in the full state of a Sovereign like the latter when full and bright, who was the abode of all arts as the latter is of the digits, dispelling the darkness of all quarters, closing [folding] the lotuses in the shape of the hands of all inimical princes, whitening the whole world by the lustre of his fame, with his rise made charming on account of his graceful feet being placed on the stool-like heads of all kings, as that of the moon is rendered charming by the rays falling on the tops of all mountains.¹ What enemies did not bolt away, abandoning their country and treasure during his marches, by the noises like those on the occasion of universal destruction, made by the striking of maces in his tents? Whose hearts did not break (through fear) with their eyes closed in a swoon? What talk then can there be as regards the dreadful noise of the drums in the festivals of fight? The blessed Śeṣha alone, who bears the whole burden of the earth, knows, if at all, the condition of things on the occasion of those marches of his for burning the very seed of kings who were his enemies, when the

¹ सोम, उवाचर and the rest have two senses, one fitting with the moon and the other with king Soma.

eight quarters resonant with the noise of the playful neighing of the horses were shattered, and the eight mountains were dislocated from their rivets by the tramping of the hoofs of horses. While he is protecting the people like a father and governing them like Yama the chastiser (the god of justice), they have experienced all the happiness of the two worlds. In his joyous expeditions for the conquest of the quarters, full of great valour as he is, the dust raised forcibly from the surface of the earth, agitated by the violent stamping of the hoofs of the tall bounding horses, which bedims the lustre of the sun, always makes the name *tatini* (having banks, i.e., a river) of the celestial river literally true. Of unparalleled daring as he is, when the irresistible cloud, in the shape of his sword rested on the summits of mountains in the shape of heads of kings, showers in the shape of the drops [of blood] from the edge of the sword poured down first and then flowed rivers of blood; in those rivers the maddened crowd of beings rambles in boats made of the skulls of elephants by [using as] oars the arms of his enemies which were chopped off, and has not yet ceased. Exalted as he is by his sublime virtues, his ever pure (white) fame humbles the pride of the heavenly Ganges, mars the beauty of the colour intensified manifold of the tusk of the elephant of the gods, inspires the Kailāsa with fear, alarms even the moon, and excites the admiration even of the milky ocean. Seeing from a distance that wonderful form of the store of prowess, graceful on account of the dignified soldierly costume [consisting of] a coat of armour, the enemies, like women, attain to the tenth condition by means of the effects, horripilation and others¹; who, therefore, does not know that extraordinary manliness of his? What shall we say of the omnipresence of his fame as supreme (over all) in the prowess of his arm, when even Śiva himself is not (in consequence of the excessive white light of the fame overspreading all equally) able to distinguish his eight bodies, and the worlds besides through excess of pride [on account of their being illuminated by the white light of his fame] laugh down to scorn the light of the moon; while all the six oceans compete (quarrel) with the milky ocean? What enemy or beggar.

¹ There are eight kinds of effects produced in a woman when under the influence of love: sweat, stupor, horripilation, &c. These are alluded to by the expression "horripilation and others"; and there are ten conditions into which a lover is placed successively when his love is not requited, and of which the tenth is death.

having come in contact with the edge of his sword or of the stream of water (poured by the hand) in warlike or alms-giving deeds, did not attain his end? Those who have seen his daring, which is more desperate than the sky is unentangled,¹ and more unapproachable than the sea, become despondent on account of its matchlessness. What can hold the announcements of his deeds? Can the quarters or the sky [do it], when they cannot all be accommodated on the walls [in the shape of] the minds of the good? How can we say "here is he," since he pervades all (space)? What place is there which that lord, the store of glory, does not reach by his hands or his taxes? While he is the protector of the Universe, (one can say that) such a Kshatriya was never born or will be born, and what talk then can there be about such a one being among the existing ones? As the heart of the king was charmed by the beautiful performances of skill in the art of singing, one Sâvaladevî (Queen Sâvala) was dearer to him than his life. Like the stream of the Ganges, the nectar (-like complexion) of her body was bright, pure in the three ways, delightful and destructive of all sins. In beauty she was Tilottamâ herself, in singing she was the very Sarasvatî, in good luck (the regards of her husband) she was Pârvatî herself, and in bounty the celestial creeper itself. Her father was Mailugi by name and her mother was one Malhanî; in consequence of the virtuous deeds of those two meritorious (persons), such a jewel was born. Her sister was one Bâvaladevî, the store of beauty and grace (or good luck), and possessed of skill in the arts of singing and dancing. Her brother was Bhairava by name, who had exercised himself on the instruments and the body, especially in the Brahmaviñâ, and was skilled in the beating of time. On one occasion while she was singing skilfully in the great audience-hall, in which the customary music of the flute, the lute, the drum, and the Paṇava was going on, and in which were sitting eminent men of that and other kingdoms, who were proficient in the arts of Bharata and others and appreciated the principal and subordinate sentiments and could entertain others, she sang a Dhromvat̥tha, called Gâṇagalapâśa, without previous arrangement (i.e., *ex tempore*), in a manner to have a high or low pitch according to the note used as a base, to bring out the seven kinds of *gamaka*, such as throbbing and tremor, and to render the graceful and soft words distinct; and obtained from the great

¹ A play upon the word निःसंग.

king who was pleased,—the great king who surpassed, by the pre-eminent virtues of bravery and bounty, the old virtuous Kshatriyas, Nala, Nahusha, Bharata, Bhagīratha and others—his consent [to give land in charity] as a reward, and herself gave at an auspicious place and time, and (afterwards) caused that same sovereign lord of great kings, whose mind was purified by great faith and devotion, to give by pouring water on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika, the day being Thursday, the constellation Revatī, the Yoga Vyatipāta, and the Karāṇa, Bava, in Śaka one thousand and ninety-six, to fourteen Brahmins of different Gotras, who were stores of all lore and purified by their righteous conduct, four *nivartanas* of land,* each measured by the *mūḍa* pole in a village of the name of Baṭṭachi, in the country of Kaṇamvade, and to Śrī-Somanātha, the god of gods, a field of rice measuring one *nivartana* and a flower garden of the same area for every-day worship; the grant not to be touched by the finger even, by the king or the officers of the king, and to be respected by all. The ancients, who by the force of their holy austerities directly perceived the results of good deeds, thus speak of the fruit of the maintenance of such a charity: “The earth has been enjoyed by many princes, Sagara and others; the fruit accrues to him to whom the earth belongs and at that time when it so belongs. O best of kings, by giving land one gives money, grain, gold, various kinds of jewels, and other gifts. Those who perform the Agnishtoma and other sacrifices giving Dakṣiṇā do not acquire that merit that is attained by giving land.” When it is otherwise, they have laid down the opposite fruit: “He who resumes the land given by him or by others becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. He who ever transgresses the [grant of] land given by others, is bound by the chains of Varuṇa and thrown into pus and blood.” Hence the blessed Nārāyaṇa himself, of the name of Rāma, who became incarnate through the good fortune of the world, to remove the darkness of ignorance of these human beings by setting them an example in his own virtuous conduct, not being satisfied though there were Smṛitis composed by the revered great Rishis, Vyāsa, Parāśara, &c., who had a direct perception of the essence of all righteous behaviour and saw [the occurrences of] the three times (past, present, and future), and though there were the very Śrutis themselves, great and small, ever watchful to give instruction in righteousness, thus solicited future Kshatriya sages in words exceedingly sweet through humility, brief and

graceful, being disquieted by the fear of the [path of] duty laid down by himself becoming corrupt in the course of time: " 'This is a bridge of righteousness common to all kings ; you should, therefore, protect it from time to time,' Ramachandra thus entreats all these future kings again and again." This charter has been composed by Âdityadeva, who waits at the feet of the learned Śrîpâda possessing power (genius) and culture. This is the work of the prosperous Âdityadêva, the paramount sovereign of the three worlds in [matters of] Learning. Auspicious glory !

ART. XVIII.—*A First Century Account of the Birth of Buddha.*

By Prof. PETERSON.

 [Read, 23rd August 1892.]

No one who has visited the spot can have failed to be struck with the desolation that now enwraps the Buddhist Tope at Sanchi. Rising from the summit of a small hill, which, for him who stands upon it, is the centre of an almost lifeless scene, the monument itself is given over to a solitude that is complete and unbroken. No footfall arrests the ear; no moving thing, the eye. The Tope stands, if one may so speak, in a setting which is fit symbol of the 'vast backward and abysm of time' into which Buddha and his religion, as far as India is concerned, have sunk for ever. Air and tree and sun and the lotus flower at Sanchi remember Buddha: by all else he is forgotten. There is not even one to so much as forget. It is a place of the past, and the dead past in it has buried its dead. That it was not always so we should have known in any case. The Tope itself has sculptured on its gateways more than one representation of the part structures like it played in that Buddhist ritual, which, at the time of its building, was India's highest way of approaching the unseen with worship. But the records of Chinese pilgrims contain descriptions which enable us to conjure up the time when the Sanchi hill was a place of pilgrimage from all India, and from the lands beyond the sea; when the monasteries that surrounded the Tope were filled with pious monks and nuns devoted to its service; when no sun set but saw the hill crowded with worship; when the silence that hangs over it now like a pall gave way to daily bursts of song and praise. One of these descriptions I shall read to you. It is from the pen of I-tsing, a pilgrim who left China twenty-five years after the return to that country of the (to us) better known Hiuen-Tsiang. My quotations are made from translations furnished to the *Journal Asiatique** by a Japanese member of the French Asiatic Society, M. Fuyishama. "I embarked," says I-tsing, "in the province of Koung-Tcheou, in the month of November of the second

 * Volume for 1888, p. 411.

year of the Han-king era (A.D. 671), and I journeyed over the Southern Sea. After having skirted many countries, I disembarked and travelled westward. In the fourth year of the same era I came to the country Tamralipti, which is situated on the Gulf of Eastern India. I remained there several months, after which I went into Central India, where I visited Nalanda, Vajrasana, and all the holy places. After a sojourn of more than twenty years in India I came to the country Sribhoja." I-tsing's travels were not even then over. But while lingering in "the countries of the Southern Sea" he wrote and despatched to the faithful in his own land three works, from one of which my extracts are taken. He did this because he feared he might never return. "Life," said he, "is like a running stream—in the morning we know not what we shall be doing at night. I think I may never see you again. Take these books as news of me, and as greeting from your friend in a far country." It is pleasant to be able to add that I-tsing's fears were not fulfilled. He duly returned to China, and was received by Emperor and people with great honour. When he died (A.D. 713), the Emperor paid him the last honour of a public funeral. I make no doubt that I-tsing, in the course of his twenty years' wandering in India, visited Sanchi. But whether that be so or not, the following account of the daily ceremony observed in the sacred places which he visited was without doubt true of Sanchi also. I-tsing is exhorting his countrymen to reform their ritual:—

"In our country (China), from remote antiquity, we have been content with doing worship to the Buddhas by name, and have not thought it necessary to praise their virtue in songs and canticles. But the mere listening to the names of the Buddhas will not enable a man to recognise the extent of their wisdom. It is by listening to verses, which set forth, and praise, their virtues, that a man can judge of their real merit. In these countries of the west there is a stated service of praise round the Tope daily, before or immediately after, sunset. All the clergy issue out of the convent, walk thrice round the tower, and make offerings of incense and flowers. Meanwhile a singer chants, in a sonorous and melodious voice, verses celebrating the virtues of the Great Teacher, of ten or twenty stanzas each, after which the clergy return in single file to the monastery, where each has his appointed seat. When all are seated, one of the chief clergy mounts the pulpit, and recites a short sutra. The pulpit is placed in front of the seat of the highest in rank, and is square, being as high

as it is broad. The sutra recited is in three parts, and was arranged by the Master in the Law, Asvaghosha. The first part consists of six verses, in which the Three Blessed Ones are praised: it is a compendium drawn from other sutras. The second is the sutra proper, in Buddha's own words. The last part, which consists of more than ten verses, expresses the longing of the saint to enter into Nirvana, borne on the wings of good deeds. When the recitation is finished, all the clergy present chant in chorus *Subhashita*, 'well-spoken' or *Badha*, 'amen.' The preacher then descends from the pulpit. The next highest in rank rises, salutes the pulpit, and the seat of the superior, and resumes his seat. Then the next in rank rises in his turn, and salutes, after the example of the first, the pulpit and the seat of the superior. He adds a salutation to his immediate superior in rank and takes his seat again. So do all the others, each saluting the two thrones, and the seat of the monk who is his immediate superior in rank. If the number of the clergy is too great, after four or five have gone through this ceremony, the others salute all together, and disperse. A similar ceremonial is observed in Tamralipti, in Eastern India. In the monastery of Nalanda the monks number five thousand, and so cannot easily be brought together in one place. There are eight courts in that monastery, and five hundred chambers. The service of praise is held at times and in places that are judged suitable. There is a Master of Ceremonies at that convent, whose duty it is to form and direct the processions which the monks make, singing hymns every day before sunset. During the procession a lay virgin and a child, carrying incense and flowers, march at the head of the monks; the procession passes from court to court. At the hour of prayer the monks chant loudly three or four verses of a hymn. The singing must stop with the setting of the sun." Some equally interesting details follow, for which I must refer to M. Fuyishama's important paper. I pass to a place where the name of the poet and saint Asvaghosha occurs a second time. I-tsing is giving an account of the authors of the hymns most in use among the Buddhists. "In ancient times Asvaghosha also composed verses: an *Alankarasastra*, and works such as the *Buddhapurvacharya* and the *Buddhacharita-kavya*. If these poems by Asvaghosha were to be translated into Chinese, they would fill more than ten volumes. They set forth the whole doctrine of Buddha, and the story of his life, from the day on which he quitted his father's house to the moment when he entered

Nirvana between the two Sala trees. His verses are sung in the five countries of India, and in the countries of the Southern Sea, being highly esteemed, because they contain many ideas and much sense in few words. The reader is pleased, and learns the doctrine of Buddha without being wearied." In the first of these two passages I-tsing tells us that the ritual for the evening service round the topes was put together by Asvaghosha, and in the second details are given of the writings of one who was a great poet, as well as a Master in the Law in Buddhism. Asvaghosha's praise of the Great Teacher has not been heard in India for a thousand years. In Tibetan records he is spoken of as the first great lyric poet of the new faith, who by his hymns raised Buddhism out of the pedantic scholastic system, and taught the nation to praise Buddha by singing lyric odes. His date is fixed for us by the well-attested fact that it was he who presided over the fourth Council of the Buddhist Church which met on the summons, and in the reign of Kanishka, who was reigning in the second half of the first century of our era. Brahminism, once victorious, was merciless to the Buddhist muse. I believe that we owe to it the disappearance of the plays of Bhasa, a dramatist whom Kalidasa acknowledged as his master. The fragments of Dharmakirti preserved in the anthologies reveal a second loss almost as lamentable. I hope to convince you to-night that, in thrusting Asvaghosha out of her pantheon, India suffered a third loss, comparable to these two, but which has fortunately proved not to be irreparable. India knows Asvaghosha only by five verses in an anthology, two of which have long passed as the work of Bhartrihari, and by the tract *Vajrasuchi*, which is perhaps of uncertain authorship. His *Buddhacharita*, or Life of Buddha, was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese, by one Dharmaraksha, in the beginning of the fifth century (414—421). A translation of the Chinese book by Mr. Beal forms the nineteenth volume of the Sacred Books of the East. No copy of the original is known to exist in India. But scholars have known for some time that a work, claiming to be a *Mahakavya*, and entitled *Sribuddhacharita*, by one Asvaghosha, was one of the manuscripts so generously presented to the National Library at Paris by Mr. Brian Haughton Hodgson, British Minister at Nepal. Burnouf, who made such splendid use of the Hodgson MSS. at Paris, had looked at the book, and had recognised its poetical merit. But he had not the same reason that we have for identifying this Asvaghosha with the celebrated writer of the name, and

he was sceptical as to such an identification being possible. He was content to note that it was in substance an abridgment of the *Lalitavistara*, the recognised authority among Northern Buddhists for the facts of Buddha's life. The long neglect of Buddhist Sanskrit after Burnouf accounts for the want of interest felt in the *Buddhacharita*. But Asvaghosha's star has been rising recently. Bühler pointed out that the existence of a poem of the kind to which it presumably belonged, which, whatever the date of its composition, was translated into Chinese in the beginning of the fifth century, must be a fact of capital importance in the discussion as to the age of classical poetry in India. In my paper "Panini, Poet, and Grammarian,"* read before the Royal Asiatic Society, I remarked that the startling resemblance between Asvaghosha's poetry and that of Kalidasa could not fail to attract the attention even of the English version of the Chinese translation. I cited some of the verses which stand over Asvaghosha's name in the anthologies. But I had no access to the *Buddhacharita*, and could not therefore carry the matter further then. We are promised a complete edition of the book, or of all that remains of it, from the competent hands of Professor Cowell. Meanwhile, M. Sylvain Lévi, with special reference to the points with regard to Asvaghosha raised by Dr. Bühler and myself, has published with a translation, the first canto of the work, as it stands in the Paris MS.; and we are at last able to judge what manner of poem it is, M. Lévi's text is in Roman letters, a way of writing Sanskrit to which our native colleagues never have, and, as I think, never will, take kindly. I have thought it worth while to transliterate it; and Asvaghosha thus after long silence will speak to his countrymen for the first time in the pages of our Society's *Journal*. I have added a translation.

One word of further preface is necessary as to the threefold interest attaching to these recovered verses of Asvaghosha's. That they are poetry, and poetry of a high order, will, I believe, be apparent to my brother Sanskritists from the original, and to others from a translation which I vouch for as a faithful rendering of the original. In a few places I am uncertain of the meaning, but these are all carefully specified in the notes to the Sanskrit text. There is little that is new about the legend as Asvaghosha gives it, but the story is nowhere

* Journ. Roy. As. Soc. XXIII., p. 334.

else, that I know of, told with anything like the same poetic fire. The chief incident, the visit of the aged sage to the child that was to redeem the world, is given with a force and a pathos that make the characters live and move before us even yet. I have already touched on the bearing the poem has on the controversy with regard to the age of Sanskrit classical poetry. These verses cannot be reconciled with Max Müller's theory of an interregnum in Sanskrit poetry, due to the invasions of the Scythian barbarians, and the birth of the *kvya*, or what we call Sanskrit classical poetry, at the end of the interregnum. Asvaghosha was a convert to Buddhism in manhood, and his verses are saturated with the legends of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and with the style of Kalidasa. The Kavyaprakasa might be illustrated from his pages; and I-tsing, you will remember, tells us that, as a matter of fact, he was the author of a work on rhetoric. His first verse here praises Buddha as one for whom no *upama* was possible, and *upamas*, *utprekshas*, *rupakas*, *virodhas*, &c., follow each other in quick succession throughout his poem. Whether it is possible to prove that he had read Kalidasa's poems is a problem in which I invite your collaboration. But, however that may be, the verses, as they stand, are proof positive that in the first century of our era the muse of Sanskrit poetry was already full grown. Lastly, it cannot but be that this poem will again throw into strong relief the many startling resemblances between the legendary account of the circumstances preceding, attending, and following the birth of Buddha, and the Gospel story of the birth of Christ. What the reason for the resemblance may be is a question on which no competent authority has been quick to dogmatise. I permit myself the single remark that no honest enquirer into the origins of the Christian religion can, or will, dismiss as insignificant the fact, that at the very moment of time at which the philosophy and learning of Europe were listening with cold incredulity to the apostles' story of the birth of Christ to save the world, myriads of men and women in India were, in the verses now laid before you, singing daily the marvellous story of the coming down from heaven and the birth of Buddha to effect a similar deliverance.

TRANSLATION.

THE INVOCATION. V. 1.

The bliss He gives is greater than that of the world's Maker : in dispelling darkness He is better than the sun : in driving away darkness He is better than the moon : there is none to whom he can be compared : Glory to Buddha.

THE CITY KAPILA. VV. 2—8.

There was a city, girt round by broad, high hills, with lofty houses that rose into the sky, where once the great sage Kapila dwelt (and called after him). So white, so high that it seemed to have stolen from Kailasa hill its ornament of clouds : nay, the clouds overhead it, come there in error (mistaking it for Kailasa hill) made, methinks, that fancy, fact. Lit up by jewelled lamps, that city gave room to poverty as little as to darkness. Fortune herself smiled brighter there for joy to live with its excellent citizens. Beautifying every house with jewels in terrace, arch and rafter end, that city, seeing nothing like itself in the world, set up a rivalry between its own buildings. When the sun, whose rays brook not contempt, came there, and found, notwithstanding, a moon in each fair woman's face, that surpassed in beauty the lotus flower, he set out for the western sea, as if to cool his anger by plunging in its waters. To poet's eye it might have seemed as if that city were trying, with its fair banners that waved in the wind, to rub the spot off the moon, for the reason that folk compared the glory won by the Sakyas to the moon. Though the moon's hands touching its silver palaces made it laugh to scorn the beauty of *kumuda* flowers; it resembled the *kamala* flower, too, when the sun's feet touched its buildings of gold.

KING SUDDHODANA. VV. 9—14.

Crowned king of kings, a sovereign, by name Suddhodana, kinsman of the sun, adorned that royal city, as the bee (?) adorns the full-blown lotus. Though pre-eminent among kings (mountains), he was not without friends (wings); though his bounty (the juice on an elephant's temples) flowed freely, he was without pride (the condition of a must elephant); though a king (Siva, the god of the three eyes) he looked with equal eyes on all his subjects; though of a kindly (kin to the moon) nature, of great glory (the sun's heat) too. The elephant

of his foes, as they fell struck down by his arm in battles, seemed to be bowing low before him with offerings of flowers, by reason of the gems which poured out of their cloven skulls. His enemies fled from before his glory as darkness flies from before the sun: shedding light on all people, he seemed to be pointing out to them the way of safety. Duty, self-interest, and pleasure did not invade each the other's sphere, such was his good government: it seemed as if they showed their natural rivalry in the attempt to shine, each the brightest, in the fair kingdom of that prosperous king. Placed at their head by ministers of noble mind (number) yet numberless, that one of nature noble (not at the head) shone all the brighter, as the moon at the head of the stars that shed all their rays towards it.

QUEEN MAYA. VV. 15—17.

Chief queen of all his queens, the brightness of his glory, shining like the rays of the sun victorious over darkness, was Maya, who was, so to say, free from *māyā* (guile). She was an earthly image of the best of goddesses, like *Mātā* (the Mother) in her unwearied care for her people, like *Bhakti* (Respect) ever in attendance on the elders, like *Lakṣmī* (Fortune) shedding light through the palace. Truly the nature of women is at all times dark, but when she appeared, it shone: let but the crescent moon arise, and the night is not so wholly dark as before.

BUDDHA'S INCARNATION AND BIRTH. VV. 18—46.

"So long as I have no organs of sense I cannot unite this erring people to myself" so saying righteousness quitted its subtle nature, and made for itself a visible form. Afterwards falling from the place called *Tushita*, lighting up the three worlds as he came, the best of Bodhisattvas entered the side of Maya, preserving full consciousness, as the king of serpents entered the cave Nanda. Wearing the majestic form of an elephant, white as Himalaya hill, with six tusks, its face perfumed with the juice exuding from its temples, he entered the side of the chief queen of Suddhodana, to destroy the sin of the world. The protectors of the world (*lokapālas*) came from the sky to perform the *rakṣavidhāna* rite of him who was the world's sole lord: the moon's rays, that shine everywhere, shine brightest on the hill Kailasa. Maya, with that child in her womb, shone like a bank of clouds in which lightning lurks: with the rain of her largess too she allayed the burning poverty of her people. Now it came to pass that

the queen with her waiting women had, going to the garden, called Lumbini, by permission of the king, for this last longing had come upon her. And as she laid hold of a branch that was bent down towards her by the weight of its flowers, the Bodhisattva in a moment cleft her side and came forth. The star cluster Pushya was shining bright when that son was born, for the world's good, from the side of the queen, whose purification had been accomplished, without pain or sickness to his mother. As the sun emerges from a cloud, so came he forth from his mother's side: with flashing rays, that drove darkness before them, he made the world the colour of gold. Pleased at heart the god of the thousand eyes (Indra) received him gently at his birth, who was yellow as a golden sacrificial post: two clear streams of water fell on his head, with clusters of *mandāra* flowers. Borne aloft by the chief among gods, and illuminating them by the rays from his body, he was fairer than the moon floating on a cloud at twilight. The star cluster Pushya was shining bright when that one was born, for the world's good, from the side of the queen, whose purification had been accomplished, without pain or sickness to his mother.

As Aurva took birth from the thigh, Prithu from the hand, Mandhata, Indra's rival, from the head, and Kakshivat from the arm, to such kind was the birth of this one. As he slowly issued from his mother's womb he shone, as if coming from heaven, not being born as others are (*yonyajāta*): it seemed as if, having controlled his sense through many ages, he was now born with full consciousness, and not a simple child. By his glory, his majesty, his light, he shone as if he were the morning sun descended upon earth: yet shining thus in all lustre he took the eyes of the gazers as the moon might do. Like the sun, with the glory that issued from his frame, he robbed the lamps of their light; with his colour of pure gold he lit up the North, the South, the East and the West. Thereupon he took seven steps, free from confusion, the foot lifted up with no conscious effort, not sliding along the ground, wide and firm, like the seven sages (the Great Bear). And stalking about like a lion, casting his eyes in every direction, he spoke this word concerning the things that were to come, "I am born to knowledge for the good of the world, this is my last birth." There fell from the sky two streams of water, bright as the moon's rays—one cold, the other hot; they fell on the dear head of that incomparable one for his body's good. In his honour as he lay on a

couch with a beauteous awning, frame of gold and feet of crystal, the lords of the Yakshas stood round with golden lotuses in their hands. Such was his power that even the dwellers in heaven, with heads bent low, spread in the sky for him a white umbrella, and uttered prayers and incantations for his knowledge. The great serpents, whose thirst after righteousness had caused them to serve previous Buddhas, fanned him, fixing their eyes of devotion on him, and showered down *mandāra* flowers. Pleased at the coming of the Buddha the Suddhadvivasa gods, the pure ones (*visuddhasattvas*) rejoiced aloud, though passion (music) was extinct in them saying:—"This is he that shall deliver a world sunk in sorrow." At his birth the earth, fixed fast as it is by the monarch of mountains, rocked like a boat that is struck by the wind: from a cloudless sky there fell a shower perfumed with sandalwood, and bearing with it *utpala* and *padma* flowers. The winds blew soft to the touch and cheering, causing celestial raiment to fall from the sky: the very sun shone brighter, and fire blazed up without tendance. In the north-east corner of the house a well of clear water sprung up of its own accord, in which, as in a holy tirtha the women with wonder in their hearts performed their rites. The garden was filled (?) with hosts of spirits longing after righteousness, and with the people of the town came to see the child. It seemed itself to wonder, and to receive with honour its many guests by means of its trees full of odorous flowers. Every tree put out its own flowers: their fragrance was wafted abroad by the winds, bees hovered humming over them, troops of serpents gulped down the wind made fragrant by them. On all sides the wood resounded with the notes of *tūryas*, *mridāngas*, *vinās*, *mukundās* and *marujas*, struck by women whose earrings moved and tinkled to their dance.

THE WORDS OF THE BRAHMINS. VV. 47—54. *

The royal science which these two founders of their races, the Rishis Bhrigu and Angiras, could not compose, was composed in due time by their sons, Sukra and Brihaspati. And Sarasvati's son uttered the lost

* NOTE.—There is an evident gap here in the poem as the Paris MS. has it. From the Chinese version we can see that king and queen were disturbed as well as pleased by the portents, and that Suddhodana in particular was made anxious by the thought that the career these seemed to foreshadow was not paralleled by anything in the history of his house. The verses that follow seek to allay his apprehensions upon this score. They are a most valuable record of the condition and traditions of Sanskrit Literature at the date of the composition of the poem.

Veda, which none had seen before : Vyasa divided it into many Vedas, a work which Vasishtha had not the strength to do. The cry of Valmika created verse, such verse as the great sage, Ohyavana, could not make : the science of medicine which Atri did create was uttered afterwards by the sage his son. Kusika could not get himself made a Brahmin, but his son, O king, found out the means to do that. Sagara set a limit to the sea, which the children of Ikshvaku failed to do ; Janaka got what others failed to get, the position of a master in Yoga among the Brahmins ; the gods themselves would be all too weak if set to the famous deeds that Krishna did. Therefore, age is not the measure here, nor is time. Someone some time comes to distinction in the world ; kings' sons and rishis' sons have ere now done beneficent deeds, such as their fathers could not do. So spake the Brahmins and brought forward examples, and the King was comforted. Glad at heart he dismissed from his mind the sorrow he had not been able to get rid of : nay, he climbed to the very height of joy. Pleased, he gave to those excellent Brahmins gifts and great honour : " May my son be a king as you say, and may he take to the forest life in old age only."

THE VISIT OF ASITA. VV. 55—87.

Now it came to pass that the great sage Asita, having learned by signs, and by virtue of his austerities, of the birth of him that should put an end to birth, came to the house of the Lord of the Sakyas, thirsting after true righteousness. The Guru of the King, himself learned in Brahma, paid all honour and reverence due to Asita, who shone among the learned in Brahma with the double light of Brahma and of penance, and took him to the King. The women's apartments were full of the tumultuous joy caused by the birth of a prince : he traversed them, composed in mind, conscious of the double strength of penance and age. The king gave the sage a seat, and honoured him, as was right, with water for his feet and the guest offering ; then spoke courteous words of welcome to him, as of old time Antideva greeted Vasishtha : " Happy am I, and surely favoured is my house that the venerable one has come to see me : say, Good Sir, what can I do for you, I am your disciple, speak freely." Thus heartily greeted by the King with all due honour, the sage, his eyes wide-staring through joyous amazement, spoke in a firm voice :—" This is like thee, oh noble heart, to whom the guest is dear, that art liberal,

and lovest righteousness : it is like thy nature, thy race, thy knowledge, and thy age, that thou shouldst bear this loving mind to me. This is that by reason of which those royal sages of old time, forsaking, for righteousness' sake, house and goods, have made themselves, by constant holy alms, rich in penance, poor in riches. Hear from me why I am come to thee, and rejoice : as I journeyed through the sky I heard a heavenly voice saying, 'Unto thee a son is born for knowledge.' Hearing this voice, and marvelling what it should mean, I learned by signs, and therefore am I come : I desire to see this banner of the Sakya race that has been lifted up as of old was the banner of Indra." When the King heard these words he trembled in all his limbs for joy : he took the sage and showed him the child lying in his nurse's lap. The great sage looked at the King's son, and saw with wonder that his hands had the mark of a wheel, that his fingers and his toes were webbed, that between his brows there was a tuft of hair, and that his testicles were (drawn in) like those of an elephant. As he gazed on the child lying in its nurse's lap, like Agni's son in the lap of Devi, tears gathered on his eyelashes, he sighed, and lifted up his eyes to heaven. The King saw Asita's eyes swimming in tears, and for love of his son he trembled : in stammering tones, and with a throat choked with tears, he implored the sage, putting his hands together, and bending low : "Why, sage, strong man that you are, do you weep as you look on this child, whose little body bears such wondrous marks, whose birth was so glorious, and for whom you have yourself foretold so high a destiny. Is, holy man, the child firm of breath ? Can it be that he has been born to my sorrow ? At last I have gotten a son to sprinkle the funeral water upon me, time is not mine to protect him. Is he an imperishable store of glory for me ? ———shall I go happy to the other world ? ———Can it be that my House has put forth a branch that will never flower, that bears the seed of decay in it : speak quickly, Lord, my heart is heavy ; for I know how dear this my son is to all his kin." When the sage saw that that royal sage was troubled at the thought of evil for his son, he spoke and said : "Do not, King, mistake : all that I said was true. This altered mood does not mean that I was mistaken about him ; it is my own loss at which I am grieving : my time to go is come, and, lo ! he is born that shall learn the hard secret of how birth is to be destroyed. He will leave his royal state, and turn his back upon the things of sense : by fierce endeavours he will attain unto the truth : then will he shine out,

a sun of knowledge, and destroy the darkness of error. He will rescue the weary world from the sea of sorrow, whose foam is disease, whose wave is old age, whose strong current is death : placing it upon his great raft of knowledge, he will bear it to the further shore. A fair river of righteousness shall issue from this child, with knowledge for its waters, right conduct for its banks, meditation for coolness, and the law for its *chakravaka* birds : the thirsty world shall drink thereof. To men pressed hard by sorrow, girt round by the things of the flesh, wandering in the rough places of this world, he will proclaim a way of deliverance, as one points the way to travellers who have missed their road. The world is burning in the fire of passion, whose fuel is the senses : he will send down cooling upon it in a shower of righteousness, as a great cloud sends down its rain at the end of the hot season. The door that has desire for its bolt, and illusion and darkness for its two panels, he will burst open with the hammer of true righteousness, and set his people free. The world is close bound in the snare of its own folly, a prey to sorrow, and with none to help : this child will know the truth, and, King of Righteousness, will deliver it from captivity. Therefore sorrow not thou for him : sorrow for each one of humankind who, from illusion, or lust of pleasure, or pride, shall refuse to hear his perfect doctrine. For me, I have fallen away from that grace, and, though I have attained supernatural powers, I look on myself as having failed : since I cannot hear his message of righteousness, I count a dwelling in highest heaven but loss." When he heard Asita speak thus, the King with his friends and his wives bade farewell to sadness, and rejoiced greatly : for as he thought what manner of son his was, he reckoned it for an increase of his own substance. When he thought on the words, 'He will take the noble path,' care filled his heart : not that he was not on the side of righteousness, but he feared for the continuance of his race. Afterwards the sage Asita, having thus revealed to the troubled King the future regarding his son, went through the air, as he had come, gazed on reverently by all.

ASITA'S WORD TO HIS NEPHEW. V. 87.

Satisfied (that this was the Buddha) that holy man, when again he saw his younger sister's son, strove compassionately in every way to attach him to the hearing of the word of the sage and to his doctrine, as he would have done for a dear son of his own.

THE RETURN TO THE CITY KAPILA. VV. 88—95.

But the King, pleased at the birth of a son, set free all prisoners throughout his dominions, and made his dear son undergo, with all ceremony due, the birth rites of his house. When ten days were measured out, therefore, the pious King, with a heart full of joy, performed each excellent sacrifice, with prayer and offerings for his son. Moreover, he gave with his own hands to the Brahmins cows in milk, to the full number of one hundred thousand, their horns tipped with gold, with stout and lusty calves, as yet untouched by age. And when, with a mind under full control, he had thus, that his son might grow in strength, performed rites of every kind to his heart's content, glad at heart he resolved, the day being propitious and the hour favourable, to return to the city. The Queen sat in a palanquin of ivory of great price, that was filled with flowers and alight with jewels, having first as a mother rendered thanks to the gods. The King made her enter the city first followed by the elders and with her child on her knee ; then entered himself, worshipped by the thronging citizens, as Indra is worshipped by the immortals when he enters heaven. Then plunging into his palace (*bhavanam*) the king of the Sakyas, as joyous as Bhava (Siva) when the six-faced god was born, his face beaming over with joy, issued order on order in quick succession, for the greater prosperity and glory of everyone. Thus was that city Kapila with all its inhabitants as glad by reason of the good fortune of the prince's birth, as the city of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera) was, with all its heavenly nymphs, when Nalakubara was born.

Here endeth the first canto, called 'The Birth of the Holy One' in the Mahakavya Sri-Buddhacharita.

THE SANSKRIT TEXT.

ॐ नमो रत्नत्रयाय ।

त्रियं परार्थी विदधद्विधातृजि-

त्तमो निरस्यन्नभिभूतभानुभृत् ।

नुदन्निदार्धं जितचारुचन्द्रमाः

स वन्द्यते ऽर्हन्निह यस्य नोपमा ॥ १ ॥

भासीद्विशालोन्नतसानुलक्ष्म्या

पयोदपङ्क्तयेव परीतपार्श्वम् ।

उदग्रधिष्ण्यं गगने ऽवगाढं

पुरं महर्षेः कपिलस्य वस्तु ॥ २ ॥

सितोन्नतेनेव नयेन हत्वा

कैलाशशैलस्य यदभ्रशोभाम् ।

भ्रमादुपेतान्बृहदम्बुवाहा-

न्संभावनां वा सफलीचकार ॥ ३ ॥

रत्नप्रभोज्ञासिनि यत्र लेभे

तमो न दारिद्र्यमिवावकाशम् ।

परार्थ्यपैरैः सहवासतोषात्

कृतस्मितेवातिस्त्राज लक्ष्मीः ॥ ४ ॥

यद्वेदिकातोरणसिंहकर्णे

रत्नैर्दधानं प्रतिवेदम शोभाम् ।

जगत्प्रदृष्टैव समानमन्यत्

स्पर्धां स्वगेहैर्मिथ एव चक्रे ॥ ५ ॥

रामामुखेन्दुन्परिभूतपद्मा-

न्यत्रोपयातो ऽप्यविमान्यभानुः ।

संतापयोगादिव वारि वेष्टुं

पश्चात्समुद्राभिमुखः प्रतस्थे ॥ ६ ॥

शाक्यार्जितानां यशसां जनेन

दृष्टान्तभावं गमितो ऽयमिन्दुः ।

इति ध्वजैश्चारुचलत्पताकै-

र्यन्मार्ष्टुमस्याङ्कमिवोदयच्छत् ॥ ७ ॥

कृत्वापि रात्रौ कुमुदप्रहास-

मिन्दोः करैर्यद्रजतालयस्थैः ।

सौवर्णहर्म्येषु गतार्कपादै-

र्दिवा सरोजद्युतिमाललम्बे ॥ ८ ॥

महीभृतां मूर्ध्नि कृताभिषेकः

शुद्धोदनो नाम नृपो ऽर्कबन्धुः ।

अध्याशयो वा स्फुटपुण्डरीकं

पुराधिराजं तदलंचकार ॥ ९ ॥

भूभृत्पराध्यो ऽपि सपक्ष एव

प्रवृत्तदानो ऽपि मदानुपेतः ।

ईशो ऽपि नित्यं समदृष्टिपातः •

सौम्यस्वभावो ऽपि पृथुप्रतापः ॥ १० ॥

भुजेन यस्याभिहताः पतन्तो

द्विषद्विपेन्द्राः समराङ्गणेषु ।

उद्धान्तमुक्ताप्रकरैः शिरोभि-

र्भक्त्येव पुष्पाञ्जलिभिः प्रणमुः ॥ ११ ॥

अतिप्रतापादवधूय शत्रू-

न्महोपरागानिव तिग्मभानुः

उद्द्योतयामास जनं समन्ता-

त्पदर्शयन्नाश्रयणीयमार्गान् ॥ १२ ॥

धर्मार्थकामा विषयं मिथो ऽन्यं

न वेशमाचक्रमुरस्य नीत्या ।

विस्पर्धमाना इव तूग्रसिद्धेः

सुगोचरे दीप्ततरा बभूवुः ॥ १३ ॥

उदारसंख्यैः सचिवैरसंख्यैः

कृताग्रभावः स उदग्रभावः ।

शशी यथा भैरकृतान्यथामैः

शाक्येन्द्रराजः सुतरां रराज ॥ १४ ॥

तस्यातिशोभाविस्तृतातिशोभा

रविप्रभेवास्ततमः प्रभावा ।

समग्रदेवीनिवहामदेवी

बभूव मायापगतेव माया ॥ १५ ॥

प्रजासु मातेव हितप्रवृत्ता

गुरौ जनेभक्तिरिवानुवृत्ता ।

लक्ष्मीरिवाधीशकुले कृताभा

जगत्प्रभूदुत्तमदेवताभा ॥ १६ ॥

कामं सदा स्त्रीचरितं तमिच्छं

तथापि तां प्राप्य भृशं विरेजे ।

नहींदुलेखामुपगम्य शुभां

वर्त्तं तथा संतमसत्त्वमेति ॥ १७ ॥

अनिन्द्रियेनात्मनि दुःकुहो ऽयं

मया जनो योजयितुं न शक्यः ।

इतीव सूक्ष्मां प्रकृतिं विहाय

धर्मेण साक्षाद्विहिता स्वमूर्तिः ॥ १८ ॥

च्युतो ऽथ कायात्तुषिताञ्जिलोकी-

मुद्ग्योतयन्नुत्तमबोधिसत्त्वः ।

विवेश तस्याः स्मृत एव कुक्षौ

नन्दागुहायां इव नागराजः ॥ १९ ॥

धृत्वा हिमाद्रिधवलं गुरु षड्विषाणं

दानाधिवासितमुखं द्विरदस्य रूपम् ।

शुद्धोदनस्य वसुधाधिपतेर्महिष्याः

कुक्षिं विवेश स जगद्भयसनक्षयाय ॥ २० ॥

रक्षाविधानं प्रति लोकपाला

लोकैकनाथस्य दिवो ऽभिजग्मुः ।

सर्वत्र भान्तोपि हि चन्द्रपादा

भजन्ति कैलाशगिरौ विशेषम् ॥ २१ ॥

मायापि तं कुक्षिगतं दधाना

विद्युद्विलासं जलदावलीव ।

दानाभिवर्षैः परितो जनानां

दारिद्र्यतापं शमेयां चकार ॥ २२ ॥

सान्तःपुरजना देवी कदाचिदथ लुम्बिनीम् ।

जगामानुमते राज्ञः संभूतोत्तमदोहदा ॥ २३ ॥

शाखामालम्ब्यमानायाः पुष्पभारावलम्बिनीम् ।

देव्याः कुक्षिं विभिद्याशु बोधिसत्त्वो विनिर्वयौ ॥ २४ ॥

ततः प्रसन्नः स बभूव पुष्य-

स्तस्याश्च देव्या व्रतसंस्कृतायाः ।

पार्श्वात्सुतो लोकहिताय जज्ञे

निर्वेदनं चैव निरामयं च ॥ २५ ॥

प्राप्तः पयोदादिव तिग्मभानुः

समुद्भवन्सोपि च मातृकुक्षेः ।

स्फुरन्मयूखैर्विहतान्धकारै-

श्चकार लोकं कनकावदातम् ॥ २६ ॥

तं जातमात्रमथ काञ्चनयूपगौरं

प्रीतः सहस्रनयनः शनकैरगृह्णात् ।

मन्दारपुष्पनिकरैः सह तस्य मूर्ध्नि

खात्तिर्मले च विनिपेततुरम्बुधारे ॥ २७ ॥

सुरप्रधानैः परिधार्यमाणो

देहांशुजालैरनुरञ्जयंस्तान् ।

संध्याभ्रजालोपरिसंनिविष्टं

नवोडुराजं विजिगाय लक्ष्म्या ॥ २८ ॥

ततः प्रसन्नश्च बभूव पुष्य-

स्तस्याश्च देव्या व्रतसंस्कृतायाः ।

पार्श्वात्सुतो लोकहिताय जज्ञे

निर्वेदनं चैव निरामयं च ॥ २९ ॥

ऊरोर्यथैर्वस्य पृथोश्च हस्ता-

न्मान्धातुरिन्द्रप्रतिमस्य मूर्ध्निः ।

कक्षीवतश्चैव भुजांशदेशा-

स्तथाविधं तस्य बभूव जन्म ॥ ३० ॥

क्रमेण गर्भादभिनिःसृतः स-

न्वभौ गतः खादिव योन्यजातः ।

कल्पेष्वावेकेष्विव भावितात्मा

यः संप्रजानन्सुषुवे न मूढः ॥ ३१ ॥

दीप्त्या च धैर्येण श्रिया रराज

बालो रविभूमिमिवावतीर्णः ।

तथातिदीप्तो अपि निरीक्ष्यमाणो

जहार चक्षूंषि यथा शशाङ्कः ॥ ३२ ॥

स हि स्वगात्रप्रभयोज्ज्वलन्त्या

दीपप्रभां भास्करवन्मुमोष ।

महार्हजाम्बूनदचारुवर्णो

विद्योतयामास दिशश्च सर्वाः ॥ ३३ ॥

अनाकुलान्यज्ञसमुद्गतानि

निष्पेषवन्त्यायतविक्रमाणि ।

तथैव धीराणि पदानि सप्त

सप्तर्षितारासदृशो जगाम ॥ ३४ ॥

बोधाय जातोस्मि जगद्धितार्थ-

मन्त्या तथोत्पत्तिरियं ममेति ।

चतुर्दिशं सिंहगतिर्विलोक्य

वाणीं च भव्यार्थकरीमुवाच ॥ ३५ ॥

खात्प्रसृते चन्द्रमरीचिशुभ्रे

द्वे वारिधारे शिशिरोष्णवीर्ये ।

शरीरसौख्यार्थमनुत्तरस्य

निपेततुर्मूर्धनि तस्य सौम्ये ॥ ३६ ॥

श्रीमद्विताने कनकोज्ज्वलाङ्गे

वैडूर्यपादे शयने शयानम् ।

यज्ञौरवात्काञ्चनपद्महस्ता

यक्षाधिपाः संपरिवार्य तस्युः ॥ ३७ ॥

मायातनूजस्य दिवौकसः खे

यस्य प्रभावात्प्रणतैः शिरोभिः ।

अभारयन्पाण्डुरमातपत्रं

बोधाय जेपुः परमाशिषश्च ॥ ३८ ॥

महोरगा धर्मविशेषतर्षा-

दुद्धेष्वतीतेषु कृताधिकाराः ।

यमव्यजन्भक्तिविशिष्टनेत्रा

मन्दारपुष्पैः समवाकिरंश्च ॥ ३९ ॥

तथागतोत्पातगुणेन तुष्टाः

शुद्धाधिवासाश्च विशुद्धसत्त्वाः ।

देवा ननन्दुर्विगतेऽपि रागे

ममस्य दुःखे जगतो हितो यः ॥ ४० ॥

यस्मिन्प्रसूते गिरिराजकीला

वाताहता नौरिब भूधचाल ।

सचन्दना चोत्पलपद्मगर्भा

पपात वृष्टिर्गगनादनभ्रात् ॥ ४१ ॥

वाता ववुः स्पर्शसुखा मनोज्ञा

दिव्यानि वासांस्यवपातयन्तः ।

सूर्यः स एवाभ्यधिकं चकाशे

ज्ज्वाल सौम्यार्चिरनीरितो ब्रह्मिः ॥ ४२ ॥

प्रागुत्तरे चानसथप्रदेशे

कूपः स्वयं प्रादुरभूत्सिताम्बुः ।

अन्तःपुराण्यागतविस्मयानि

यस्मिन्क्रियास्तीर्थं इव प्रचक्रुः ॥ ४३ ॥

धर्मार्थिभिर्भूतगणैश्च दिव्यै-

स्तद्दर्शनार्थं वनमाप्रपूरैः ।

कौतूहलेनैव — पादपैश्च

प्रपूजयामास सगन्धपुष्पैः ॥ ४४ ॥

पुष्पद्रुमाः स्वं कुसुमं पफेलुः

समीरणोद्भामितदिक्कुसुगन्धि ।

सुसंभ्रमद्भृङ्गवधूपगीतं

भुजंगवृन्दापिहितात्तवातम् ॥ ४५ ॥

कचित्कणत्तूर्यमृदङ्गीतै-

र्वीणामुकुन्दामुरजादिभिश्च ।

स्त्रीणां चलत्कुण्डलभूषितानां

विराजितं चोभयपार्श्वतस्तत् ॥ ४६ ॥

यद्वाजशालं भृगुरङ्गिरा वा

न चक्रतुर्वीशकरावृषी तौ ।

तयोः सुतौ तौ च ससर्जतुस्त-

त्कालेन शुक्रश्च बृहस्पतिश्च ॥ ४७ ॥

सारस्वतश्चापि जगाद नष्टं

वेदं पुनर्यं ददृशुर्न पूर्वम् ।

व्यासस्तथैनं बहुधा चकार

न यं वशिष्ठः कृतवानशक्तिः ॥ ४८ ॥

बाल्मीकनादथ ससर्ज पशं

जयन्थयज्ञ द्यवनो महर्षिः ।

चिकित्सितं यच्च चकार नात्रिः

पश्चात्तदात्रेय ऋषिर्जगाद ॥ ४९ ॥

यच्च द्विजत्वं कुशिको न लेभे

तत्साधनं सूनुरवाप राजन् ।

वेलां समुद्रे सगरश्च दधे

नेह्वाकवो यां प्रथमं बबन्धुः ॥ ५० ॥

भाचार्यकं योगविधौ द्विजाना-

मप्राप्तमन्यैर्जनको जगाम ।

ख्यातानि कर्माणि च यानि शौरेः

शूरादयस्तेष्वबला बभूवुः ॥ ५१ ॥

तस्मात्प्रमाणं न वयो न कालः

कश्चित्कचिच्छैष्ठ्यमुपैति लोके ।

राज्ञामृषीणां च हितानि तानि

कृतानि पूर्वैरकृतानि पुत्रैः ॥ ५२ ॥

एवं नृपः प्रत्ययितैर्द्विजैस्तै-

राश्वसितश्चाप्यभिनन्दितश्च ।

शङ्कामनष्टां विजहौ, मनस्तः

प्रहर्षमेवाधिकमारुरोह ॥ ५३ ॥

प्रीतश्च तेभ्यो द्विजसत्तमेभ्यः

सत्कारपूर्वं प्रददौ धनानि ।

भूयादयं भूमिपतिर्यथोक्तो

यायाञ्जरामेत्य वनानि चेति ॥ ५४ ॥

अथो निमित्तैश्च तपोबलाच्च

तज्जन्म जन्मान्तकरस्व बुद्धा ।

शाकेश्वरस्यालयमाजगाम

सद्धर्मतर्षादसितो महर्षिः ॥ ५५ ॥

न ब्रह्मविद्ब्रह्मविदां ज्वलन्तं •

ब्राह्म्या भ्रिया चैव तपःभ्रिया च ।

राशो गुरुर्गौरवसत्क्रियाभ्यां

प्रवेशयामास नरेन्द्रसक्त ॥ ५६ ॥

स पार्थिवान्तःपुरसन्निकर्षं

कुमारजन्मागतहर्षवेगम् ।

विवेश धीरो बलसंज्ञयैव

तपःप्रकर्षाच्च जराभ्रयाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥

ततो नृपस्तं मुनिमासनस्थं

पाद्यार्घ्यपूर्वं प्रतिपूज्य सम्बक् ।

निमन्त्रयामास यथोपचारं

पुरा वशिष्ठं स इवान्तिदेवः ॥ ५८ ॥

धन्योऽस्म्यनुमाद्यमिदं कुलं मे

यन्मां दिदृक्षुर्भगवानुपेतः ।

आज्ञाप्यतां किं करवाणि सौम्य ।

शिष्योऽस्मि विश्रम्भितुमर्हसीति ॥ ५९ ॥

एवं नृपेणोपनिमन्त्रितः स-

न्सर्वेण भावेन मुनिर्वथावत् ।

सविस्मयोत्फुल्लविशालदृष्टि-

र्गम्भीरधीराणि वचांस्युवाच ॥ ६० ॥

महात्मानि त्वय्युपपन्नमेत-
 त्प्रियातिथौ त्याग्निनि धर्मकामे ।
 सत्त्वान्वयज्ञानवयोनुरूपा
 क्षिग्धा यदेवं मयि ते मतिः स्यान् ॥ ६१ ॥
 एतच्च तद्येन नृपर्वयस्ते
 धर्मेण भूद्माणि धनान्यपास्य ।
 नित्यं त्यजन्तो विधिवद्वभूवु-
 स्तपोभिराद्या विभवैर्दरिद्राः ॥ ६२ ॥
 प्रयोजनं यत्तु ममोपयाने
 तन्मे शृणु प्रीतिमुपैहि च त्वम् ।
 दिव्या मया दिव्यपथे श्रुता वा-
 ग्बोधाय जातस्तनयस्तवेति ॥ ६३ ॥
 श्रुत्वा वचस्तच्च मनश्च युक्त्वा
 ज्ञात्वा निमित्तैश्च ततो ऽस्म्युपेतः ।
 दिदृक्षया शाक्यकुलध्वजस्य
 शक्रध्वजस्येव समुच्छ्रितस्य ॥ ६४ ॥
 इत्येतदेवं वचनं निशम्य
 प्रहर्षसंभ्रान्तगतिर्नरेन्द्रः ।
 आदाय धान्यङ्कगतं कुमारं
 संदर्शयामास तपोधनाय ॥ ६५ ॥
 चक्राङ्गुपाणिं स तथा महर्षि-
 र्जालावनद्धाङ्गुलिपाणिपादम् ।
 सोर्णभुवं वारणवस्तिकाशे
 सविस्मयं राजसूतं ददर्श ॥ ६६ ॥

धात्र्यङ्कसंविष्टमवेक्ष्य चैनं

देव्यङ्कसंविष्टमिवाभिसूनुम् ।

बभूव पक्ष्मान्तविरञ्चिताश्रु-

निःश्वस्य चैवं त्रिदिवोन्मुखो ऽभूत् ॥ ६७ ॥

दृष्ट्वासितं त्वश्रुपरिप्लुताक्षं

क्षेहात्तु पुत्रस्य नृपश्वकम्पे ।

सगद्गदं बाष्पकषायकण्ठः

पप्रच्छ च प्राञ्जलिरानताङ्गः ॥ ६८ ॥

स्वल्पान्तरं यस्य वपुर्मुने स्या-

द्वहद्भुतं यस्य च जन्म दीप्तम् ।

यस्योत्तमं भाविनमात्थ चार्थं

तं प्रेक्ष्य कस्मात्तव धीर बाष्पः ॥ ६९ ॥

अपि स्थिरासुर्भगवन्कुमारः

कञ्चिन्न शोकाय मम प्रसूतः ।

लब्धा कथंचित्सलिलाञ्जलिर्मे

न खल्विमं त्रातुमुपैति कालः ॥ ७० ॥

अप्यक्षयं मे यशसो निधानं

कञ्चिद्-मो मे कुलहस्तसारः ।

अपि प्रयास्यामि सुखं परत्र

सुप्तोपि पुत्रो अनिमिषैकचक्षुः ॥ ७१ ॥

कञ्चिन्न मे जातमफुल्लमेव

कुलप्रवालं परिशोषभाणि ।

क्षिप्रं विभो ब्रूहि न मेस्ति शान्तिः

केहं सुते वेदि हि बान्धवानाम् ॥ ७२ ॥

इत्यागतावेगमनिष्टबुद्ध्या

बुद्धा मुनीन्द्रं स मुनिर्बभाषे ।

माभून्मतिस्ते नृप काचिदन्या

निःसंशयं तद्यदबोधमस्मि ॥ ७३ ॥

नास्यान्यथात्वं प्रति विक्रिया मे

स्वां वञ्चनां तु प्रति विक्रुबो अस्मि ।

कालो हि मे यातुमयं च जातो

जातिक्षयस्यासुलभस्य बोद्धा ॥ ७४ ॥

विहाय राज्यं विषयेष्वनास्थ-

स्तीवैः प्रयत्नैरधिगम्य तत्त्वम् ।

जगत्ययं मोहतमो निहन्तुं

ज्वलिष्यति ज्ञानमयो हि सूर्यः ॥ ७५ ॥

दुःखार्णवाद्वाद्याधिविकीर्णफेना-

ज्जरातरङ्गान्मरणोपवेगात् ।

उत्तारयिष्यत्ययमुद्यमान-

मार्तं जगज्ज्ञानमहाप्रवेन ॥ ७६ ॥

प्रज्ञाम्बुवेगां स्थिरशीलवपां

समाधिशीतां प्रतचक्रवाकाम् ।

अस्योत्तमां धर्मनदीं प्रवृत्तां

तृष्णार्दितः वास्यति जीवलोकः ॥ ७७ ॥

दुःखार्दितेभ्यो विषयावृतेभ्यः

संसारकान्तारपथस्थितेभ्यः ।

आख्यास्यति शेष विमोक्षमार्गं

मार्गप्रणष्टेभ्य इवाभ्युत्तरेभ्यः ॥ ७८ ॥

विदह्यमानाय जनाय लोके
 रागाग्निनायं विषयेन्धमेन ।
 प्रह्लादमाधास्यति धर्मवृष्ट्या
 वृष्ट्या महामेष इवातपाप्मे ॥ ७९ ॥
 तृष्णार्गलं मोहतमः कपाटं
 द्वारं प्रजानामपयानहेतोः ।
 विपाटयिष्यत्ययमुत्तमेन
 सद्धर्मताडेन दुरासदेन ॥ ८० ॥
 स्वैर्मोहपाशैः परिवेष्टितस्व
 दुःखाविभूतस्य निराभवस्य ।
 लोकस्य संबुद्धश्च च धर्मराजः
 करिष्यते बन्धनमोक्षमेव ॥ ८१ ॥
 तन्मा कृथाः शोकमिमं प्रति त्वं
 तत्सौम्य शोष्यो हि मनुष्यलोके ।
 मोहेन वा कामसुखैर्मदाद्वा
 यो नैष्ठिकं शोष्यति नास्य धर्मम् ॥ ८२ ॥
 भ्रष्टस्व तस्माच्च गुणादतो मे
 ध्यानानि लब्ध्वाप्यकृतार्थमेव ।
 धर्मस्य तस्याश्रवणादहं हि
 मन्ये विपत्तिं त्रिविवेचि वासम् ॥ ८३ ॥
 इति श्रुतार्थः ससुहृत्सद्वार-
 स्त्यक्त्वा विषादं मुमुक्षे नरेन्द्रः ।
 एषंविदोयं तनयो ममेति
 मेने स हि स्वामपि सारमत्ताम् ॥ ८४ ॥

भार्येण मार्गेण तु यास्यतीति

चिन्ताविधेयं हृदयं चकार ।

न खल्वसौ न प्रियधर्मपक्षः

संताननाशास्तु भयं ददर्श ॥ ८५ ॥

अथ मुनिरसितो निवेद्य तत्त्वं

सुतनियतं सुतविक्रवाय राज्ञे ।

सबहुमतमुदीक्ष्यमाणरूपः

पवनपथेन यथागतं जगाम ॥ ८६ ॥

कृतमतिरनुजासृतं च दृष्ट्वा

मुनिवचनश्रवणेपि तन्मतौ च ।

बहुविधमनुकम्पया स साधुः

प्रियसुतवद्दिनियोजयां चकार ॥ ८७ ॥

नरपतिरपि पुत्रजन्मतुष्टो

विषयमतानि विमुच्य बन्धनानि ।

कुलसदृशमचीकरद्यथाव-

त्प्रियतनयं तनयस्य जातकर्म ॥ ८८ ॥

दशसु परिमितेष्वहःसु चैवं

प्रयतमनाः परया मुदा परीतः ।

अकुरुत जपहोममङ्गलाद्याः

परमतमाः स सुतस्य देवतेज्याः ॥ ८९ ॥

अपि च शतसहस्रपूर्णसंख्याः

स्थिरबलवत्तनयाः सहेमशृङ्गीः ।

अनुपगतजराः पयस्विनीर्गाः

स्वयमददात्सुतवृद्धये द्विजेभ्यः ॥ ९० ॥

बहुविधविषयास्ततो यतात्मा

स्वहृदयतोषकरीः क्रिया विधाय ।

गुणवति दिवसे शिवे मुहूर्त्ते

मतिमकरोन्मुदितः पुरप्रवेशे ॥ ९१ ॥

द्विरदरदमयीमथो महार्हो

सितसितपुष्पभृतां मणिप्रदीपाम् ।

अभजत शिविकां शिवाय देवी

तनयवती प्रणिपत्य देवताभ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥

पुरमथ पुरतः प्रवेक्ष्य पत्नीं

स्थविरजनानुगतामपत्यनाथाम् ।

नृपतिरपि जगाम पौरसंबै-

र्द्वित्रममैरैर्मधवानिवाचर्यमानः ॥ ९३ ॥

भवनमथ विगाह्य शाक्यराजो

भव इव षण्मुखजन्मना प्रतीतः ।

इदमिदमिति हर्षपूर्णवक्त्रो

बहुविधपुष्टियशस्करं व्यधत् ॥ ९४ ॥

इति नरपतिपुत्रजन्मवृद्ध्या

सजनपदं कपिलाह्वयं पुरं तत् ।

धनदपुरमिवाप्सरोवकीर्णं

मुदितमभून्नलकूबरप्रसूतौ ॥ ९५ ॥

इति श्रीबुद्धचरिते महाकाव्ये भगवत्प्रसूतिर्नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥१॥

NOTES.

Verse 2. उदमधिष्ण्यं. By conjecture. MS. उदमधिष्णोः. L. corrects उदमधिष्णोः.

V. 5. अन्यत्. L. amanyat, a printer's error.

V. 7. वृष्टान्तभावं. L.'s correction. MS. वृष्टान्तवभावं.—माहुः. L.'s correction. MS. माहुः.

V. 9. "Bee" is a purely conjectural interpretation, suggested by the context. I do not know what अध्यास्यो can mean, or be a mistake for.

V. 12. तिग्म°. L.'s correction. MS. तीग्म°.—समन्तात्. By conjecture. L. समन्तान्.

V. 13. An echo of Raghuvansa XVII. 57?

न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बन्धाधे न च तेन तौ ।

नार्ये कामेन कामं वा सौ ऽर्थेन सदृशस्त्रिषु ॥

Perhaps we should read स्वर्गेचरे.

V. 15. रविप्रभेवास्त°. L.'s correction. MS. रविप्रभो वास्त°.—सममदेवी. निवहामदेवी. Compare नारीसहस्रेषु हि सामग्रासा, Gâthâ in Lalitavistara, p. 30.—With मायापयसेव here compare मायाकृतेव विम्बं, in the same Gâthâ, The Sanskrit, p. 29, has मायानिर्मितमिव विम्बं.

V. 17. तमिस्रं. MS. तमिषं.

V. 19. स्मृत एव. With full consciousness. M. Levi translates: 'au moment même qu'elle pensait à lui.' But compare स्मृतः संप्रजानन् Lalitavistara, p. 63, which does not mean 'calling to mind the tradition' as the translation has it. Compare also below Verse 31. यः संप्रजानन्सुषुवे न मूढः, where Asvaghosha uses the second word of his text. The same collocation स्मृतः संप्रजानन् occurs again, Lalitavistara, p. 95, where it is correctly translated, 'with full memory, knowing everything'. Foucaux's translation of the Tibetan version of the Lalitavistara has, p. 87, 'ayant le souvenir et la science'—नन्दागुहाया. So MS. L. suggests नन्दा गुहायां.

V. 20. गुरु षड्विचारं. L. गुरुषड्विचारं.

V. 22. MS. विलासं.

V. 25. ब्रतसंस्कृतायाः. Compare षोडशपरिगृहीतायाः Lalitavistara, p. 63.

V. 27. This is in accordance, not with the Lalitavistara, in which Indra and Brahma receive the child, but with the account in the Abhinishkamanasutra. Cf. Foucaux, p. 87, note :

"The Lord of the Gods, knowing that the Queen about to be

delivered, resolved to be the first to receive the Bodhisattva. Then thinking that Queen Maya would be ashamed to be delivered before him, he said to himself, 'I must devise something. And he took the form of an old woman... But when the Bodhisattva was born, Indra could not hold him, and all his limbs shook. 'Kausika, leave me, leave me,' cried out the Bodhisattva, and the king of the gods let the child go.'

V. 30. ययौर्वस्य. L.'s correction. MS. ययौर्वस्य.

V. 31. यः संप्रजानन्. &c. Compare note on स्मृत एव v. 19. L.'s translation, 'Il naquait parce qu'il voulait naître et non par folie,' is wrong. What is meant is that Buddha was born in full possession of his mental, as (v. 34) of his physical powers.

V. 34. The adjectives to पदानि are extremely interesting. The child's steps were अनाकुलानि not perplexed, or hesitating, अज्ञसमुद्गतानि taken without conscious exercise of the will (as a man walks), निष्पेषवन्ति not sliding along the ground (he lifted his feet clean from the ground), आयतविक्रमाणि wide, धीराणि firm. Asvaghosha seems to write as a parent as well as a poet. निष्पेषवन्ति is L.'s correction for the निष्पेवन्ति of the MS.

V. 35. अन्त्या. L.'s correction. MS. आन्त्या.

V. 36. स्वात्. This detail has been given already, v. 27.

V. 42. वाता ववुः स्पर्शसुखा मनोज्ञाः Compare मरुतो ववुः सुखाः Raghuvansa III. 14.

V. 44. MS. आप्रपूरैः which L. queries. I conjecture आपि (was filled) पूरैः.

V. 45. विहितान्तवातं. So MS. L. conjectures विहितालवालं.

V. 48. न च. L. takes these as one word नच, the Nitisastra.

V. 50. राजन्. By conjecture. MS. राजं. L. conjectures राज्यं.

V. 52. तस्मात्. &c.

" It is not growing like a tree

In bulk, doth make man better be ;

Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,

To fall a log at last, dry, bald, and sere :

A lily of a day

Is fairer far in May

Although it fall and die that night—

It was the plant and flower of Light.

In small proportions we just beauties see ;

And in short measures life may perfect be."

B. Jonson.

Compare also तेजसां हि वयः न समीक्ष्यते Raghuvansa XI. I.

V. 54. ययोक्तो. L.'s correction. MS. ययोक्तौ. The reference is to something said in the part of the poem missing between our vv. 46 and 47.

V. 61. महात्मनि स्वद्युपपन्नमेतत्. Compare सर्वे सखे स्वद्युपपन्नमेतत् Kumarasambhava III. 12.

V. 63. तव may by a strained construction be made to refer to the king : but it is grammatically more correct to make it part of the voice which Asita heard : 'To you is born a son who shall know (find out the way of salvation.' Asita did not understand the meaning of the voice until he had (V. 64) used his supernatural powers to that end.

V. 65. धान्यकुगर्त. This is very noteworthy. In the Lalitavistara, p. 112, Buddha's mother dies on the seventh night after the birth of her son, and an account is given of the pains Siddhodana was at to appoint a suitable wet-nurse for Buddha, p. 114. Āsvaghosha deviates from the legend as far as Maya's death is concerned (cf. v. 92), but the धात्री appears here all the same.

V. 66. चक्राङ्गुपाणि. In the Lalitavistara it is the soles of the two feet that are thus marked.—सोर्णभुवं. By conjecture. L. स्वर्णभुवं. Compare Lalitavistara, p. 120, उर्णो महाराज सर्वार्थसिद्धस्य भुवोर्मध्ये जाता हिमरजतप्रकाशा. Cf. also, p. 375, l. 16.—The next epithet means that in the case of Buddha the testicles were withdrawn from sight, as with the elephant. This is still a sign of great strength in India. Compare Foucaux, p. 108, 'ce qu'il faut cacher, est rentré et caché.' This detail is in the Lalitavistara also कोशोपगतवस्तिगूह्यः, p. 121, but is most absurdly rendered in the translation, p. 143, the twenty-first sign.

V. 67. पक्ष्मान्तविरञ्जिताश्रुः (L. conjectures °रञ्जित°). He does not let the tears fall, for that would be a bad omen. Cf. निपतस्पीतवाष्प Kavgaprakāśa. This is the poet's touch. In the Lalitavistara Asita weeps freely.

V. 69. स्यात् is the indeclinable particle here. Compare अस्मि in v. 73.—त्. By conjecture. L. ते., a printer's error.

V. 71. The second line of this verse is, as Monsieur Levi has marked, one syllable short, and the meaning both of it and of the fourth line is obscure to me. I have had to leave both lines untranslated. M. Levi in the fourth line changes पुत्रो to पुत्रे, and translates 'gardant dans mon sommeil un œil ouvert sur mon fils.' The image is not a happy one, and I doubt if a Hindoo could have used it. "Even as he lies there asleep, my boy is the darling of the

gods" (referring to the attentions they have showered upon him); is a meaning that has suggested itself to me, but I doubt if it is correct. The words might also mean "even in his sleep my boy keeps one eye open," an alarming sign?).

V. 72. वेहं, &c. Suddhodana is thinking of the distress that will fall upon all to whom the boy is dear if any calamity overtakes him. L. changes वेहि to वेस्ति and translates 'tu sais comme les parents: aiment leur fils.'

V. 73. काचित्. By conjecture. L. कदाचित्, a printer's error.

V. 73. अस्मि. The indeclinable particle. L. corrects to अस्ति.

V. 79. प्रह्लादं. L. correct's to प्रह्लादं.

V. 80. कपाटं. The MS. writes कपातं.

V. 82. शौच्यो. L.'s correction. MS. शौचो.

V. 87. If nothing is missing, this verse is a good illustration of what I-tsing meant when he described Asvaghosha as packing a great deal of sense into a very few words. From the other records we learn that Asita had a nephew, Naradatta. In some of the accounts Naradatta accompanies Asita to the city Kapila, in others he remains behind. In all Asita makes it his first business on his return to adjure Naradatta to become one of Buddha's disciples. Compare Lalitavistara. p. 123, अथ तत्र खल्वसितो महर्षिर्नरदत्तं माणवकमेतदबोधत् । यदा त्वं नरदत्तं शृणुया बुद्धो लोक उत्पन्न इति तदा त्वं गत्वा तस्य शासने प्रव्रजेः. मुनिवचनश्रवणे &c., is therefore to be construed with विनीयोजयां चकार, not as L. does कृतमतिः. This last word does not mean 'attentive' here, but 'satisfied' (that this child was he of whom the heavenly voice spoke).

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(FROM JULY 1891 TO AUGUST 1892.)

A meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 29th July 1891. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice K. T. Telang, C.I.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Peterson read a paper on Courtship in Ancient India.

The Chairman made some remarks on the paper and moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Peterson for his paper, which was carried by acclamation.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 31st August 1892. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice K. T. Telang, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

THE LATE RAJA RAJENDRALAL MITRA, LL.D.

Dr. Peterson said:—Before Mr. Karkaria reads his paper, I ask leave to discharge a duty which the Honorary Secretary has laid upon me by moving the Society to put on its records its sense of the loss it has sustained in the death of Raja Rajendralal Mitra. Dr. Rajendralal's career has been the theme of many pens since his lamented death, and I will not endeavour to do more than glance at the main features of his life. A scholar and the son of a scholar, he was early appointed to the office of Librarian of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and it was there that he laid the foundations of his wide reading, and there that he began a long career of patient study. He died at the age of 67, after a life of single devotion to the studies he has done so much to adorn. I will ask leave to quote the words used by the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University on the occasion of Dr. Rajendralal's obtaining the honorary degree of LL.D. The Hon'ble Sir Arthur Hobhouse, the then Vice-Chancellor, said:—
“There is no European Society of Oriental scholarship to whom he is

not honourably known, and there are many who have been glad to admit him as a member and a colleague. He has thrown light on many a dark corner of the history, antiquities, and language of this country." Max Müller also has written thus of Rajendralal: "He is a Pundit by profession, but he is, at the same time, a scholar and a critic in our sense of the word. He has edited Sanskrit texts, after a careful collation of manuscripts, and in his various contributions to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he has proved himself completely above the prejudices of his class, freed from erroneous views on the history and literature of India in which every Brahman is brought up, and thoroughly imbued with those principles of criticism which, men like Colebrooke, Lassen, and Burnouf have followed in their researches into the literary treasures of his country. His English is remarkably clear and simple, and his arguments would do credit to any Sanskrit scholar in England * * * Our Sanskrit scholars in Europe will have to pull hard if, with such men as Raja Rajendralal in the field, they are not to be distanced in the race of scholarship." His countrymen do well to honour such a career and such a man; and if I have been willing to be their spokesman here, it is partly because my own studies and occupations have given me special opportunities of appreciating the solid character of Raja Rajendralal's work; partly, I will confess, because Raja Rajendralal, in my opinion, did not always receive from English critics the courtesy and consideration to which his honesty of purpose and his devotion to learning entitled him. I do not think that Raja Rajendralal so much as replied to the attacks on him to which I am referring; and I think the dignity with which he bore the abuse heaped on him by archæologists, whose fantastic theories he had presumed to criticise, was in marked and dignified contrast to the spirit in which they dealt with him. Mr. Chairman, I beg to move "that the Society puts on record their sense of the loss which they and the Parent Society, as well as the country generally, have sustained in the death of Raja Rajendralal Mitra, honorary member of the Society."

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal, in seconding the proposition, said he had the pleasure of knowing Raja Rajendralal personally. He made the Raja's acquaintance when the Raja was in Bombay about twelve years ago. He remembered a meeting held by this Society on the 4th November 1879, under the presidency of General White, R.E., of Her Majesty's Mint. Dr. Rajendralal was invited to this meeting

and an Address of welcome was presented to him. This Address recounted his multifarious labours in Oriental researches, in Sanskrit literature, and Indian archæology. The meeting at the same time did him the honour of electing him an honorary member of the Society. Dr. Rajendralal had an important share in the publication of that extremely useful series of Oriental works, the *Bibliotheca Indica*, which was undertaken under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This series was the means of disseminating a knowledge of the most standard works on religion and history in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. In this series Dr. Rajendralal edited the text and published the translation into English of the Chândogya Upanishad and other useful works. The contributions he made to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society from time to time he collected and published in two volumes under the title of "Indo-Aryans." They are perhaps the most valuable contributions to the history of ancient and mediæval India. By scholars in India and Europe he was held in high esteem. Scholars in Europe found it difficult to successfully combat his views. The University of Calcutta recognised his eminent claims by conferring on him the honorary degree of LL.D. as soon as the power to confer such distinction was granted to it by the Legislature. The Government of India also conferred on him various distinctions from time to time. That one should have done so much work in the interests purely of literature and scholarship was a marvel to most people. Our Society pays, in my opinion, a humble but just tribute to the memory of this distinguished scholar when it places on record this resolution of the country having sustained an irreparable loss by his death.

The Chairman, in putting the proposition to the vote, remarked that he fully concurred in the observations made by the proposer and seconder in support of it. He knew Dr. Rajendralal personally, and could therefore bear his own testimony to the scholarship and worth of the deceased.

The proposition was unanimously carried.

Mr. Karkaria then read a paper on Carlyle's hitherto unpublished lectures on the periods of European culture as preserved in the Anstey MS. in the possession of the Society.

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria for the interesting paper he had read, Prof. Macmillan said he hoped the lectures would some day be printed.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha seconded the proposition, which, on being put to the vote, was carried by acclamation.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 29th September, 1891. Dr. P. Peterson was in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice K. T. Telang read a paper on "Subandhu and Kumarila."

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Telang for the interesting and learned paper he had read, which, on being seconded by the Chairman, was carried by acclamation.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 10th November 1891. Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha was in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria then read the second part of his paper on the Anstey MS. of Carlyle's Lectures in the Library of the Society.

The Honorary Secretary moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria for the interesting paper he had read, which, on being put to the vote, was carried by acclamation.

A general meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 24th November 1891, in accordance with Article XX. of the Rules for the revision of the List of Newspapers and Periodicals taken by the Society. Mr. C. E. Fox in the Chair.

At the meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the *Review of Reviews*; *Forum*; *International Journal of Ethics*; *Journal of Economics*; *London, Edinburgh and Dublin Philosophical Magazine and Sanitary Record*.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 1st December 1891. Mr. C. E. Fox in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper entitled "A Brief Sketch of the History of the Portuguese and their Language in the East."

On the motion of Dr. Peterson, seconded by Mr. Penny, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. da Cunha for the interesting paper he had read.

A meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 26th February 1892.

The Hon'ble Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji J. Modi read a paper entitled "The Divine Comedy of Dante, and the Viraf-nameh of Ardai Viraf."

Dr. J. Gerson-da-Cunha offered a few remarks on the paper, which he said was a valuable contribution to Dante Literature, and hoped that it would be published in the Journal of the Society.

The President then made observations on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Mody for the interesting paper he had read.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 4th April 1892.

Mr. C. E. Fox in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The business before the meeting being the election of a Trustee of the Society's Government Paper in the place of Mr. C. E. Fox, who is retiring from the Trusteeship, the Honorary Secretary proposed that Mr. John Griffiths be appointed a Trustee in the place of Mr. Fox.

The proposition being seconded by Dr. Atmaram Pandurang was unanimously carried.

Mr. Fox then endorsed the notes amounting in all to Rs. 9,200 to the three Trustees and handed the same over to them.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 14th April 1892.

Mrs. Pechey-Phipson in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary reported the proceedings of the Managing Committee in reference to a fund raised with a view to a memorial to the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., and informed the Society that the fund up to that date amounted to Rs. 2,090.

The following propositions, proposed and seconded respectively by Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Vacha and Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, by Dr. Bhalchandra and Mr. J. J. Mody, and by Mr. B. N. Seervai and Mr. R. P. Karkaria, were placed before the meeting, and on being put to the vote were unanimously carried:—

(1) That the amount raised with a view to a memorial of the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West be devoted to the purchase for the use of the Society's Library of a collection of standard works in different

departments of literature, to be designated "The Sir Raymond West Testimonial," the selection of such works being made by Sir Raymond himself.

(2) That a farewell Address be presented to the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West before his departure, and that a Committee of the following gentlemen be appointed to draw up the Address:—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Fox, Mr. J. Griffiths, and the Honorary Secretary.

(3) That a meeting of the Society be called at an early date for the presentation of the Address to the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West.

A meeting of the Society was held on the 21st April 1892, for the purpose of electing the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., who retired from the office of President of the Society, an Honorary Member of the Society, and of presenting him with a farewell Address. The Hon'ble Sir Raymond West occupied the Chair.

Mr. C. E. Fox said :—Mr. Vice-President and Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in proposing, under Article 5 of the Rules and Regulations of the Society, that our retiring President, the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West, be elected an Honorary Member of the Society. There is a homely proverb that "Good wine needs no bush," and the career and attainments of Sir Raymond West are so well-known to all of you that it seems unnecessary for me to enlarge on them. A distinguished member of a distinguished service, he for many years held a high judicial office in this Presidency, and in addition to the exemplary discharge of his duties as a Judge, devoted himself to a profound study of Hindu Law, and is a much valued authority on all questions connected with it. For the last five years he has been a Member of the Council of the Government of Bombay. He has won the highest prizes open to his service, and has succeeded not by a courtier's arts, but by independence of character, honesty of purpose, and unremitting devotion to the service of the State. His motto has been "to scorn delights and live laborious days," and he has never spared himself in the performance of his public duties. But, gentlemen, while we are proud to have had as our President one of such distinction, our regard for him in view of the proposal now before the meeting is based mainly upon his intimate connection with this Society for many years past, and upon the great services rendered by him, both as President and Chairman of the Committee

of Management. As President, he has furthered the interests of the Society in every way in his power, while his culture and literary attainments have largely contributed to the discussion of papers read before the Society. As Chairman of the Managing Committee, his business capacity and ripe judgment have materially aided the prosperity of the Society. We must needs feel his severance from us, and in electing him an Honorary Member of the Society, we are not only conferring on him the small honor which it is in our power to bestow, but have the satisfaction of feeling that we are to some extent bridging over the distance which must for the future separate him from us. He will still be one of us, and we may hope that with renewed health and learned leisure he may be inclined now and then to remind us of his kindly interest by contributing to the Society's Journal. Gentlemen, I beg to propose that the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., be elected an Honorary Member of the B. B. R. A. Society, and feel confident that the meeting will pass the proposal with acclamation.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang said he had occasion at a sister institution so recently to express the high opinion he had always held of the great services of Sir Raymond West to learning and education in Western India, that it was hardly necessary for him to address that meeting at any considerable length. As he said in the institution he had just mentioned, so he would say in the one in which they were present, he had had the pleasure and the privilege and the honour of being associated with Sir Raymond West in the administration of the affairs of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and he could not but bear testimony before the assembled members of the institution to the very great service which Sir Raymond West had rendered to that branch of the Society. In him they had a President whose wide culture, and extensive acquaintance with learning, had enabled him to throw considerable light on many matters in the course of the debates which had taken place at their meetings from time to time. He was sure that it would be very long indeed before they got a President of the Society able to perform the duties of the office, he would not say as well, but even nearly so well as he had discharged them. (Applause.) His extensive learning—not the extensive learning which was co-existent with superficiality, for his learning was both extensive and deep—had enabled him to discharge the duties much better than any one he could think of. The pursuits to which Sir Raymond West had applied himself had been pursuits kindred to

those with which that Society was in sympathy. His profound study of Hindu Law and the institutions connected with it was a field in which he had worked most successfully, and one with which this Society was very specially identified. In that field he stood first amongst all the workers they had had in Western India, indeed, in India generally. He thought those were grounds on which the motion Mr. Fox had moved should be accepted with enthusiasm. (Applause.)

Mr. R. P. Karkaria said it was his pleasing and honourable duty to support the motion as was required by the rules. He re-echoed the excellent sentiments of those gentlemen who had so ably moved and seconded the motion. Their learned President had received, and deservedly received, so many honours, that he was afraid the small honour they were conferring upon him would not have much attraction, but he hoped that what lacked in attractiveness was, perhaps, made up for by the lively sense of gratitude and loving admiration with which it was offered. What the old Roman poet said about his friend and patron might be applied to their President with peculiar appropriateness, and they might say that they lost in their retiring President their "*Præsidium et dulce decus*," and though as a *præsidium* he had unfortunately ceased to be, by the honour they proposed to confer upon him that evening, they might preserve him as their *dulce decus* for ever, or at least as long as their corporation should last. (Applause.)

The President then said he had great pleasure in announcing that the Committee had elected the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang as his successor until the next annual meeting, when, he had no doubt, he would be elected again in a more permanent way. He was sure they would all hail with pleasure the fact that Mr. Telang had been elected.

Sir Raymond West then vacated the chair, and the newly elected President commenced the duties of his office.

Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yujnik then read the Address, which was beautifully engrossed on parchment, surrounded by an artistically illuminated border. The Address was as follows :—

To the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West, LL.D., K.C.I.E.

Honourable Sir,—We, the undersigned Members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, beg, on the eve of your departure from India, to assure you of our regard and esteem for your character and abilities, and our regret at your retirement from the office of President which you have held for the last twelve years. We are well aware how much we are indebted to you as Chairman of the Managing

Committee for the advice you have, from time to time, given on questions which have arisen in regard to the management of the Society, and we are conscious that the activity of the Society owes much to the high literary attainments of you as its President. We are desirous that you who have done so much to uphold the reputation of the Society should not leave without some special acknowledgment of our appreciation of your acknowledged abilities and varied learning.

Accordingly, with a view to perpetuating your connection with the Society, the Committee of Management have invited the members of the Society to subscribe to a fund to be devoted to the purchase of books as a memorial of the important services rendered by you to the Society as its President for many years past, and subscriptions have been collected amounting to the sum of about Rs. 2,200.

At a general meeting of the Society, held on the 15th instant, the following resolutions were passed :—

“That the amount raised with a view to a memorial of the Honourable Sir Raymond West be devoted to the purchase, for the use of the Society's Library, of a collection of standard works in different departments of literature to be designated the ‘Sir Raymond West Testimonial,’ the selection of such works being made by Sir Raymond West himself.

“That a farewell Address be presented to the Honourable Sir Raymond West before his departure, and that a Committee of the following gentlemen be appointed to draw up the Address:—The Hon'ble K. T. Telang, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Fox, Mr. J. Griffiths, and the Honorary Secretary. That a meeting of the Society be called at an early date for the presentation of the Address to the Hon'ble Sir Raymond West.”

While regretting your separation from us, we have the satisfaction of thinking that while absent you will continue to take as keen and kindly an interest in the welfare of the Society as you have always shown while in India, and in conclusion would express our earnest hope that you may have in store for you in England many years of health, happiness, and prosperity.

We have the honour to be,

Honourable Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Bombay, the 21st day of April 1892.

Sir Raymond West said : Amongst the many indications of kindly feeling and generous appreciaiton of my simple services, as a public man, of which I have been the recipient during the last few weeks of my career in this country, none has gone more deeply home to my feelings than the Address which has just been read to me, and the evidently hearty feeling by which the reading of the Address has been accompanied. I have indeed spent many happy hours in the rooms of this building, where we are now assembled, and if I could have imbibed one-tenth of the learning, archæological, historical, and literary, set forth in the various papers read before the Society during my presidency, I should be now in some measure deserving of a portion of the eulogiums which have been poured out on me by the mover, seconder, and supporter of the motion which immediately preceded my resignation of the chair. I am deeply grateful to those gentlemen for what they have said. Two of them, at least, are old associates of mine; we have toiled together on many occasions in what we trusted was a high and worthy purpose, sometimes succeeding, and then our joy has been in common, sometimes not quite succeeding or failing, and then in our mutual sympathy we have found a source of consolation and a source of hope for the future, because on considering our separate views and comparing notes with one another of what we expected and what we accomplished and discovering the reason of failure, we have generally arrived at a resolute purpose that what was good in what we had determined upon, should not be allowed to fail, and a hope and determination that so far as we could, we would still push on a good and worthy cause, whenever it had fallen into our keeping. These associations are the bonds of the truest and purest friendship, and I trust, however wide oceans may divide us, and however different our lots may be cast, still the kindly feelings which have associated me for so long with Mr. Telang and Mr. Fox will never part from our thoughts, and to the end of our lives be the same true friends as now. (Applause.) I thank also the kindly supporter of the motion, and I trust that the younger members of the Society, whom he so worthily represents, will maintain the traditions of this Society and be working members of it, and consider it their duty to contribute, so far as their vocations will allow, to the proceedings of the Society something which will make it live in history as a source of those materials on which historians build, and out of which the ideal frame-work of a society is developed and material found for those building to grasp all the circumstances under which men

grew, lived, and became a nation, or ceased to be a nation. These are grand studies to be engaged in, and I call upon the younger members of the Society to exert themselves in this field. It may have struck members that I am perhaps the last person who should offer advice of this kind, and I might be twitted and asked: "What have you done in this way?" I must confess that in the proceedings of the Society I have been barren and almost useless, except perhaps in offering a few words of criticism and comment on papers read by various members at meetings of the Society. But yet, as my honorable friend, Mr. Telang, has observed, it has not been for want of interest in archæology or the other matters in which the Society interests itself, but I have been something like the stars of which Matthew Arnold speaks, "In their own task all their powers pouring," and having taken up the study of Hindu Law I have from day to day and year by year poured into that study a miscellaneous mass of reading and light gathered from the Greek, Latin, English, and Continental languages which at any rate has brought me into close, kindred communion, and interest with the members of this Society. Many of the papers I have prepared for the work, which I look upon as the chief monument of my capability and lawyer-like capacity, and I may at some time be able to cull one or two papers for the Society, and I trust life and strength will be allowed me for the purpose, and nothing will give me greater pleasure than to renew my association with friends so dear to me, and to imagine in a distant land their faces kindling not only at what is laid before them in the way of views on subjects, but also with kindly recollections of their past President. (Applause.) Gentlemen, during the years I have presided over this Society, although from time to time it might have occurred to us that we were not doing much to justify our existence, yet if we take the aggregate we will find that we have had about seventy papers laid before the Society, and these seventy most important papers containing a mass of learning which in itself is to give the Society eminence amongst other societies of a like kind. I may be allowed to mention a few of our contributors during my time, and I am happy to say that when I read many of those names, the mere mention of them as associated with myself reflects a certain lustre and eminence on my own name as President of the Society, and makes me feel proud and happy to occupy that position, and occupy it to your satisfaction, so long. I will mention those contributors who have passed from amongst us first. Everyone will

recognise a scholar and archæologist in Pandit Bhagvanlal. He contributed papers on the "Antiquarian Remains of Sopara," and on the remains in our Museum. These papers give us a position amongst scholars, antiquarians, and archæologists, which may well make us feel proud of our Society. He also gave us a paper on the "Copper-plate grant of the Chalukya dynasty from Nasik," and other papers, which I need not detail, but I mention his name to show the importance of the work done by the Society. Another member who has passed away, a man of remarkable learning, is the eccentric Mr. E. Rehatsek. We all remember several of the papers he read, for they took us into fields to which none of us had access and even very few living scholars had access. I will mention one or two of his papers just to recall the services which he rendered to our Society.* There was his paper, for instance, "Alexander Myth of the Persians," and "Specimens of pre-Islamitic Arabic Poetry," and "Emporia, Ports of Arab and Indian International Commerce before the Christian Era," the latter a paper of remarkable learning, and probably he was the only man living who could have produced it. Another most interesting and remarkable paper was "Metempsychosis and Incarnation among Mahomedan Sects." Undoubtedly the Society was greatly enriched by him, and we must regret that in the last years of his life he withdrew from us. He has carried with him to the grave a mass of learning of a peculiar kind which perhaps could not be supplied by the learning of any other man living. I next refer to some of the contributions by some of our office-holders. Dr. Codrington gave us some valuable papers on coins, notably on the hoard of coins found at Broach, and also on the coins in our own cabinet. Another of our secretaries, Dr. Peterson, contributed during recent years eight or ten different papers, all of them of great learning and full of interest. I may mention his "Three Reports on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts," and his varied and interesting remarks on Sanskrit literature, and his last paper on "Courtship in Ancient India" was particularly interesting and instructive. Another eminent member of the Society is Prof. Bhandarkar, whom I am happy to call one of my oldest friends in this Presidency and who has never written a paper for the Society which has not been of distinct value and worthy of preservation. His paper on the "Relations between Sanskrit, Pali, the Prakrits, and the Modern Vernaculars," is a most valuable and important paper, and another is his paper on the "Sanskrit Inscriptions from Central Java." Another member of our

Society contributing valuable papers is the gentleman on my right, Dr. da Cunha. He has given some valuable papers, seven or eight at least, four on "Indo-Portuguese Coins," and he made those coins the means of illustrating history in a happy and instructive manner. "The Marriage of Infanta D'Catherina of Portugal to Charles II." was a paper in which I felt personally interested, and other members recollect that paper very well, and still recall the glow of admiration with which they show the fruits of Dr. da Cunha's learning. Our present Secretary, Mr. Yajnik, has also contributed papers, one of which is worthy of mention, "Mount Abu and the Temples of Dailwada," which was gratefully received by the Society. We all remember the papers read by Dastoor Darab Sanjana, on the "Next of Kin Marriages in Old Iran." I may also mention Mr. Fleet, whose name is well-known in the Society, as having contributed many papers on copper-plate grants, and various other documents relating to Indian Archæology and History, which have enriched the Proceedings of the Society. To go into another field outside India itself, Mr. Karkaria has given us some valuable papers on the Assyrian Relics of this Society, and showed his remarkable versatility by reading a paper on Carlyle before he committed those documents into book-form. Mr. Macdonell gave us a most interesting paper on the MS. of Dante in the Library, which we regard as one of our greatest treasures. Mr. Mody gave us a good paper on the "Game of Ball and Bat amongst the Ancient Persians," in which he showed good reason for thinking that the game of polo, so much in vogue now amongst our young military officers at such a cost of life and limb, took its rise from the Persians in ancient days, whose chief accomplishments were "to draw the bow, ride, and tell the truth." I trust their successors and descendants in this country will always continue to speak the truth, ride well, and when they draw the bow not to let it be the long bow. (Laughter.) One paper of immense interest I have not mentioned is M. E. Senart's paper on "A New Edict of Asoka," a newly-discovered inscription. The fact that that gentleman, during a residence of a few short months in this country, was able to make so remarkable and interesting a discovery, shows us that it is still possible to find a diamond in what appears to be an exhausted field, and all ought to resolve to search the field from time to time for such diamonds worthy of preservation in our archives. I have not yet by any means exhausted the list of papers read before me during my presidency, but I have indicated enough to show that this

Society has been doing a good or useful work which entitles it to a high rank amongst societies of the same class in other parts of the world. No one need bend his head or blush when he hears the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society mentioned. We have done our share, and if any one should reproach us with having done less than he might, I should like a member to answer, "You master all the subjects dealt with in the last twelve years during the presidency of Sir Raymond West, and when you have mastered all those subjects, and are prepared to discuss the whole of them, then you may utter some reproach, but till then you may well be silent." There is one set of papers which I have reserved till the last—those papers read to the Society by my distinguished and honorable successor and President of this institution, Mr. Telang. I am sure you will feel that the author of papers such as those, and of such learning in Sanskrit literature, is in every way fitted for the office which he now occupies. I am sure he will be able to do much for this Society, and whenever he retires from the presidency, he will leave behind material enough to make the Society distinguished for generations to come. I congratulate the Society most heartily on my being succeeded by Mr. Telang, and my own light will shine dimmer by contrast with his. I identify myself so much with the honour and career of this Society that I have no feeling of envy, however much cause there may be for it, and I feel already in anticipation a glow of delight in feeling that this Society will be so worthily presided over and stimulated to work by this gentleman. For the kind words expressed towards me, I cannot sufficiently thank you. They are words which I feel I do not deserve, and that they spring from personal friendship and attachment. However that may be, it would be ungracious not to accept this testimonial to my worth, such as it is, which you have kindly presented to me. I accept it with deep gratitude, and I thank you from my heart, and assure you that I shall always look back to this time with kind and tender feelings and with great pleasure, and shall never fail for one moment to feel great interest in the prosperity of this Society, and shall not fail in doing whatever is in my power to further the interests and welfare of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. (Loud applause.)

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 28th June 1892. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice K. T. Telang, C.I.E., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were then read :—

(1) Bhartrihari and Kūmārila. By Mr. K. B. Páthak, B.A.

(2) The so-called Pehelvie origin of the story of the Sindibad-namah. By Mr. J. J. Modi, B. A.

The President made remarks on the papers and moved a vote of thanks to the writers, which was unanimously carried.

A meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 30th July 1892.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice K. T. Telang, C.I.E., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar read a paper on Transcripts and Translations with remarks of the following copper-plate grants :—

(a) Of Krishna III. of the Rashtrakūta dynasty of the Deccan, dated 862 Saka or 940 A.D., found near Wardha in the Central Provinces, and forwarded to the Society by the Deputy Commissioner, Wardha.

(b) Of Indra II. or Nityavarsha of the same dynasty, dated 836 Saka or 915 A.D., found in the Naosari District, Baroda Territory.

(c) Of Soma of the Kalachuri dynasty of the Deccan, dated Saka 1096, which was in the possession of the Desai of Kokahnur in the Belgaum District.

The Honorary Secretary with his observations moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Bhandarkar for the interesting and learned paper he has read.

The President then made remarks on the paper and put the vote to the meeting, and it was carried by acclamation.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 23rd August 1892.

The Hon'ble Justice K. T. Telang, C.I.E., President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Peterson then read a paper on a First Century account of the Birth of Buddha.

The President made remarks on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Peterson, which was carried by acclamation.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, Dr. Peterson referred to the lamented death of Prof. V. S. Apte, of the Fergusson College, and suggested that a note be made of the loss Sanskrit Literature and higher education in Western India had suffered by the sad event.

The President also made sympathetic remarks.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(JUNE 1891 TO AUGUST 1892.)

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- ACTS, Government of India, 1891. By the Government of India.
- ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan, 1888-89 and 1890-91. By the Government of India.
- Bombay Presidency, 1890-91. By the Bombay Government.
- Central Indian Agency, 1890-91. By the Government of India.
- Central Provinces, 1890-91. By the Chief Commissioner, C. P.
- Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1890-91. By the Resident at Hyderabad.
- Madras, 1890-91. By the Madras Government.
- N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1890-91. By the Government, N.-W. P.
- Punjab, 1890-91. By the Punjab Government.
- Rajaputana, 1890-91. By the Government of India.
- AMERICAN Politics. By G. A. Kittredge, Esq.
- ANNALS, Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta, Vol. III. By the Superintendent, Botanical Garden.
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- Veterinary College, Report, 1890. By the Bombay Government.
- BUSTAN of Sadi. Ed., Platts and Rogers. By the Secretary of State for India and Messrs. Allen and Co.
- CARLYLE'S History of European Literature. Ed., R. P. Karkaria. By the Editor.
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- MSS., Berlin Library. By the Berlin Library.
- of Birds, Mammalia and Lepidopterous Insects, in the East India Company's Museum. By the Bombay Government.
- of Cuneiform Tablets, British Museum. By the Trustees of the Museum.
- Persian Books and MS., Asiatic Society of Bengal. By the Society.
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- CATALOGUS Catalogorum. Aufrecht. By the German Oriental Society.
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- DICTIONARY of Economic Products. Watt. By the Bombay Government.

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—————(Cambay Disturbances). By the Secretary of State for India.

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—————(Estimates) 1890-91. By the Secretary of State for India.

—————Financial Statement, 1891-92 and 1892-93. By the Secretary of State for India.

—————Home Accounts. By the Secretary of State for India.

—————Hunza Expedition. Do.

—————(Indigo Cultivation). Do.

—————Loans raised in India. Do.

—————(Manipur). Do.

—————Opium Licenses. Do.

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NOTICE.

No. 1326.

LIST OF COINS acquired under the Indian Treasure Trove Act and available for sale to Numismatists (Home Department Resolution No. 46-1668-82, dated 9th October 1884):—

Description.	Metal.	Value of each Coin.			No. of Coins available for sale.
		Rs.	a.	p.	
Gadhia Coins	Silver ...	0	5	0	223
Coins of the Mahomedan Kings of Gujarát	Do. ...	0	8	0	75
Gupta Coins	Do. ...	0	1	6	537
Coins struck at Ahmednagar	Copper ...	0	1	0	84
Coins of Firuzshah of Delhi	Do. ...	0	2	0	151

R. V. RIDDELL, Colonel, R.E.,
Mint Master.

HER MAJESTY'S MINT,
Bombay, 6th December 1892.

